The Forum

FEBRUARY, 1902.

THE SETTLEMENT WITH CHINA.

ALL Europe sallied forth to punish China. A resounding blow was to be struck for justice and civilization. Nothing was considered beyond the strength of the allies. There was much talk of deposing the dynasty. At all events the crafty and cruel Empress Dowager was to be forever shorn of power. China was to be humbled and forced to repentance. The irresistible might of the West was to crush the guilty and awe the innocent. Speaking generally, this dramatic invasion of the East by the West has resulted in failure and ignominious retreat. Prince Tuan, General Tung-fuh-siang, and many another of the Boxer leaders still live, unwhipped of justice. China is not humbled and she is not repentant; she has merely postponed her revenge. We have made martyrs of the Boxers and rallied the nation in support of the policy of "China for the Chinese." We met barbarism with barbarism. We made the country between Tientsin and Peking a desert, and called it peace. We did not administer retributive justice; we let loose on the Chinese a composite, incoherent, and ill-disciplined army, a part of which, at least, gave itself over to unchecked vengeance and barbarous spoliation. The foreign army marched to Peking gloriously enough, and then ingloriously indulged in raids, euphemistically called punitive expeditions.

The West has been given pause. The ease of Japan's victory led to the false assumption that the Chinese were a dying nation; that they were utterly devoid of national feeling; that they could be despoiled with impunity; that they were meekly submissive and could easily be ruled by a foreign power; that they were waiting for the war-lord to stalk

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about among them in military boots; and that all that was necessary in order to govern them successfully was iron firmness and an occasional exhibition of ruthless force. It all seemed delightfully simple. The partition of the empire was flippantly discussed over the tea-tables of the West. The Chinese people themselves were regarded as a negligible quantity. The only danger lay in the possibility of the thieves falling out over the division of the spoils. Russia saw visions of an imperial Asiatic empire. France saw an opportunity for glory. The German Emperor felt a divine call to exhibit the mailed fist and to plant a great colony. English and Americans were planning the exploitation of China without regard for the wishes of her Government or people. It does not seem so simple now. The partition of the empire has been indefinitely postponed. The fighting about Tientsin was a revelation, and an ominous prophecy of the future. Only the firmness of the great southern viceroys prevented a general rising that would have been irresistible.

Another result of recent experiences in China will be an increased tendency in the West to consider the Chinese side of the question; and the more carefully and impartially the history of European intercourse with that country is studied, the more clearly it will be seen that the Chinese are more sinned against than sinning. For a time, at least, we shall treat China with greater patience and consideration. We now know that the Boxer rising was not a wholly meaningless ebullition of barbarous fanaticism, but at bottom a genuinely patriotic movement, the natural and proximate consequence of foreign aggression. It was what Carlyle has called a truth clothed in hell-fire. No doubt the attack on the legations was a great crime; but it would be a nice exercise in casuistry to point out wherein it was more criminal than the stealing of a Chinese province. No doubt the Chinese Government ought to protect the lives of foreigners; but it is well to remember that more Chinese have been killed by mobs in this country than Americans in China. And it is also well to remember that the men composing the American mobs have never been punished.

A review of the diplomatic negotiations leading up to the present settlement is a lesson in patriotism for the American citizen. In its handling of the Chinese difficulty President McKinley's Administration was splendidly loyal to the best traditions of American diplomacy. By virtue of its moderation, its moral impulse and direction, its fulness of knowledge, its straightforward and open methods, its boldness and self-sufficiency, American diplomacy, in the hands of President McKinley

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and Secretary Hay, proved itself a mighty instrument of civilization. Our naval victories at Manila and Santiago have been ridiculously overrated as means of advancing our position among the nations. If that position has recently become somewhat more important, it is chiefly due to the capturing of foreign markets by our merchants and manufacturers and to the leading part we played in the Chinese drama. To the public men of Europe, especially the diplomats, our bold, firm, and independent position, taken at the very outset of the Chinese crisis and before Europe had spoken, came as a veritable shock. They had been comparatively indifferent to our easy victories over a dying nation, but they were quick to perceive the portentous significance of our bold entrance into the field of international politics. Here, indeed, was a new force to be reckoned with, and they knew instinctively that it would work counter to their secretly cherished purposes. Our action has notably strengthened the dislike and apprehension with which we are regarded in the chancelleries of Continental Europe.

The Boxer rising came with bewildering unexpectedness. Public opinion in the countries directly and materially interested was unsettled. The European powers were without any definite policy as to the immediate steps to be pursued, and some of them were secretly rejoicing in the apparent opportunity for the partition of the Chinese Empire. In these circumstances of uncertainty and danger to the territorial integrity of China, Secretary Hay sent to the powers his memorable circular note of July 3, 1900, in which he stated that our Government regarded the situation in China as one of anarchy rather than war to be met by a declaration of war on our part; that we should treat the friendly viceroys as the representatives of the Chinese people, with whom we desired to remain at peace; that we should act concurrently with the other powers in rescuing the legations, in protecting foreign life and property, and in preventing a spread of the disorders; that our general policy was to seek a solution which might "bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." This unequivocal announcement of wise, humane, and unselfish policy cleared the atmosphere wonderfully. It quickened the international conscience, and made the opposite policy of revenge and partition seem mean and unworthy. It crystallized public opinion, and did more than anything else to prevent a disastrous declaration of war against China and to bring the powers to quick agreement

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as to the immediate steps to be taken. It gave us in the Concert a position of moral ascendency which we maintained to the very end.

The diplomatic negotiations leading up to the present settlement have fully disclosed the distrust, jealousy, and cross-purposes of the powers respecting China and the ineptitude of the Concert of Europe as a tribunal for the final determination of the Chinese question. On August 19, 1900, five days after the rescue of the legations, Li Hung Chang proposed to the powers the cessation of hostilities and the immediate commencement of peace negotiations. Russia promptly acquiesced, but all the other powers rejected the proposal as premature. The next important move was the most remarkable and the least understood in the whole course of the negotiations. On August 28 the Russian chargé d'affaires at Washington made an oral statement to Mr. Adee, Acting Secretary of State — Mr. Hay being ill at the time — as to the general policy of his Government toward China, and in particular as to the peace negotiations. After stating that Russia was in favor of maintaining the integrity of China and that the occupation of Newchwang by Russian troops was intended to be merely temporary, he said:

> . . . Taking the position that, as the Chinese Government has left Peking, there is no need for the Russian representative to remain, Russia has directed her minister to retire with his official personnel from China [later found to mean from Peking to Tientsin]; that the Russian troops will likewise be withdrawn; and that when the Government of China shall regain the reins of government and afford an authority with which the other powers can deal, and will express a desire to enter into negotiations, the Russian Government will also name its representative.

Our Government was urged to adopt this extraordinary policy. It has always been supposed peculiarly advantageous to the victor to dictate terms of peace while in the occupation of the capital of the vanquished. Obviously the return of the Court to Peking was not an essential condition of peace negotiations, for its agents could bind it wherever it might be. The objections to a retreat from Peking were that the Chinese would construe it as a sign of weakness and defeat, and would probably renew aggressive hostilities; that there was no assurance that the Court would return to Peking if that city were vacated; that it would leave the city in a state of anarchy; that it would be a dishonorable abandonment of native converts; and, finally, that it would be a needless surrender of the best means of forcing the Chinese to a satisfactory settlement.

The motives of Russia in making this proposal are well understood. Russia and China have a common boundary for 4,000 miles, and it is

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obviously desirable that they should remain on good terms. It is the ambition of Russia to play the rôle of China's next friend and protector as against the aggressions of the other powers. As she designs ultimately to absorb Mongolia and Manchuria, it is her settled policy to keep China weak, but nevertheless free from control by the other powers. She is particularly anxious that no other power shall secure a foothold in North China, thereby endangering her present position and rendering more difficult the realization of her ambition in Mongolia and Manchuria. German designs in North China are particularly obnoxious to Russia. If the proposal had been accepted, Russia would have been able to pose as the savior of China, while at the same time furthering her own designs. And Russia certainly had good grounds for hoping that the policy of withdrawal would be adopted. We were at the time badly involved in the Philippines, and a presidential campaign was approaching, in which imperialism was to be one of the main issues. Furthermore, we were anxious that diplomatic negotiations should be well under way before the arrival of Count von Waldersee. We were at one with Russia in seeking to prevent the realization of Germany's aggressive designs. France, of course, could be depended upon to follow Russia, if, indeed, she had not already pledged her support. England was absorbed in South Africa, and was exceedingly anxious to get out of China.

In reply to the Russian proposal our Government expressed itself in favor of "a joint occupation of Peking under a definite understanding between the powers until the Chinese Government shall have been reëstablished and shall be in a position to enter into new treaties with adequate provisions for reparation and guarantees of future protection." But the Government believed that a general withdrawal was expedient unless all the powers could agree harmoniously to a joint occupation. It therefore notified Russia and the other powers "that unless there is such a general expression by the powers in favor of continued occupation as to modify the views expressed by the Government of Russia and lead to a general agreement for continued occupation, we shall give instructions to the commander of the American forces in China to withdraw our troops from Peking after due conference with the other commanders as to the time and manner of withdrawal." This reluctant and conditional acquiescence in the Russian programme was virtually an expression of hope that it would not be accepted by the other powers. France signified her approval so quickly as to give the impression of a prior understanding; but Lord Salisbury could not afford to affront the German

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Emperor and so withheld his support. Russia did not carry out her plan of withdrawal, and our Government willingly abandoned the idea.

The next move was made by Germany. On September 18 the German Government proposed to the powers that they should consider "as a preliminary condition for entering into diplomatic negotiations with the Chinese Government, a surrender of such persons as might be determined upon by their representatives at Peking as being the first and real perpetrators of the crimes committed in Peking against international law." On September 21 our Government peremptorily rejected this proposal. The reply re-affirmed the intention of our Government to hold to the uttermost accountability the responsible authors of any wrongs done in China to citizens of the United States and their interests, and then proceeded as follows:

> It is thought, however, that no punitive measures can be so effective by way of reparation for wrongs suffered and as deterrent examples for the future as the degradation and punishment of the responsible authors by the supreme imperial authority itself, and it seems only just to China that she should be afforded, in the first instance, an opportunity to do this and thus rehabilitate herself before the world. . . . This Government is disposed to hold that the punishment of the high responsible authors of these wrongs, not only in Peking, but throughout China, is essentially a condition to be embraced and provided for in the negotiations for a final settlement. It is the purpose of this Government, at the earliest practicable moment, to name its plenipotentiaries for negotiating a settlement with China, and in the meantime to authorize its minister in Peking to enter forthwith into conference with the duly authorized representatives of the Chinese Government, with a view of bringing about a preliminary agreement whereby the full exercise of the imperial power for the preservation of order and the protection of foreign life and property throughout China, pending final negotiations with the powers, shall be assured.

This was a bold stroke. It was not merely a blunt rejection of the German proposal; it was also a notice to Europe that we should withdraw from the Concert unless a basis of negotiation more in harmony with our general policy should be quickly agreed upon. It was received with jeers and flaunts by the diplomats and journalists of Europe. The "amateurish diplomacy" of America was ridiculed, and our threat to withdraw from the Concert was characterized as presumptuous and dishonorable. All the leading English papers strongly endorsed the German plan. The London "Times" said editorially that the country "would be both astonished and shocked if our [British] Government did not warmly support the German proposal." France, Austria, Italy, and Japan were all prepared to follow the German programme; but Lord Salisbury, following the lead of the United States, condemned it by withholding any formal reply and by seeking a compromise. The German proposal was virtually an invitation to all the powers to join

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Germany in declaring war upon China, for the latter country would inevitably have refused to comply with the demand; and a war on China, under the circumstances, meant a partition of the empire, and the probability of a European conflict. It was also highly objectionable and unwise because it involved the danger of protracted disagreement among the powers as to the persons who should be brought to trial, as to the organization of the court, and as to the nature of the evidence to be received and the punishments to be inflicted. It violated the salutary rule of international law that one nation shall not be compelled to surrender its citizens to another for punishment. Subsequent events have shown that the "amateurish diplomacy" of the United States, by killing the German proposal, saved Europe from committing an egregious blunder. By finally waiving the death penalty for Prince Tuan and the other leaders, the European powers acknowledged that the German condition was unwise and impossible of enforcement.

On September 25 the Chinese Emperor issued an edict ordering the punishment of the more prominent of the Boxer leaders. This gave Germany an opportunity to withdraw her proposal with grace. Accordingly, on October 2, she presented to the powers the following substituted proposal:

> The Imperial Government, therefore, proposes that the powers come to an agreement to instruct their diplomatic representatives in China to examine and give their opinion as to the following points: (1) Whether the list contained in the edict of persons to be punished is sufficient and correct. (2) Whether the punishments proposed meet the case. (3) In what way the powers can control the carrying out of the penalties proposed.

This suggestion met with the approval of all the powers; but Russia was not content that Germany should take the lead in laying down the terms of negotiation. On October 4, France, it is believed at the suggestion of Russia, proposed to the powers for their approval the following six bases of negotiation:

(1) The punishment of the chief culprits, who will be designated by the representatives of the powers at Peking.
(2) The maintenance of the embargo on the importation of arms.
(3) Equitable indemnity for the states and for private persons.
(4) The establishment in Peking of a permanent guard for the legations.
(5) The dismantling of the Taku forts.
(6) The military occupation of two or three points on the Tientsin-Peking route.

On October 10 our Government accepted these bases of negotiation; making reservations, however, respecting a permanent guard for the legations, the interdiction against the importation of arms, the disman-

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tling of the Taku forts, and the military occupation of the Tientsin-Peking route. At the same time it expressed its approval of the Russian suggestion "that in case of a protracted divergence of views on the subject of the indemnity the matter might be commended to the consideration of the International Court of Arbitration of The Hague." All the other powers ultimately acceded to the French programme. It was agreed that the final redaction of the terms of negotiation should be committed to the ministers at Peking, using the French bases as the foundation. This proved an exceedingly unfortunate step, as many of the ministers had passed through the siege of the legations and naturally were in no temper to approach the question in a spirit of moderation and justice.

They at once zealously devoted themselves to the pleasing task of strengthening the French bases and adding fresh demands. On November 11, after five weeks of wrangling, they submitted to their Governments, for approval, a joint note embodying the irrevocable conditions of peace negotiations. It was in line with the German policy of severity and vengeance, inasmuch as it transformed the French bases of negotiation into an ultimatum, and so precluded all diplomatic negotiation with the Chinese. The note demanded the death penalty for eleven of the Chinese leaders, including Prince Tuan and General Tung-fuh-siang. Although these terms were well known to be such as our Government had been opposing for months, Mr. Conger nevertheless signed the note. All the other powers were inclined to adopt the note as drafted by their ministers. It remained for the "amateurish diplomacy" of America once more to take the lead and save the European powers from their headlong folly. Our Government repudiated the action of Mr. Conger, and addressed a circular note to the powers insisting on a radical modification of the note or the submission of the whole question to a different tribunal; at the same time plainly intimating that we should withdraw from the Concert unless more moderate counsels should prevail. All the ministers at Peking strongly urged their Governments to resist modification, and they were vigorously supported by Germany. Japan, Russia, and France sided with the United States, after some hesitation. England, Germany, Austria, and Italy held out for the death penalty. This was the crux of the negotiations. A break-up of the Concert was imminent. Finally, the more moderate counsels prevailed, and on December 4 the joint note was modified, on motion of the American minister, by substituting for "death penalty" the phrase "severest punishment."

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No doubt Prince Tuan and the others designated by the ministers richly deserved the death penalty; but under the circumstances it would have been sheer fatuity to make their death a condition precedent of peace. At the very time that the note was being drafted by the ministers, Tuan and Tung-fuh-siang were dominating the court. The Chinese Government could not have sacrificed them if it would, and would not if it could. To send a European army in pursuit of them was too manifestly unwise for serious consideration by responsible statesmen. Had the note not been modified, as suggested by our Government, a deadlock would have resulted, the outcome of which would necessarily have been deeply humiliating to the powers; for the Chinese Government was, beyond a certain point, master of the situation. The practical impossibility of pursuing the Court to Si-ngan-fu and indefinitely beyond put an iron limitation on the demands of the powers. The practical question was not what officials ought to be punished, but what officials the Chinese Government would sacrifice rather than risk the indefinite occupation of Peking by the foreign forces. We could safely press China up to a certain point, and no farther. To go beyond that point was to invite consequences even more disastrous to the allies than to China. While the waiving of the death penalty was a humiliating acknowledgment of impotence, yet it was wise and statesmanlike, for it was a clear-eyed recognition of the actualities of the situation and a deliberate choice of the lesser of two unavoidable evils.

The joint note, embodying the irrevocable conditions of peace, was finally signed, on December 22, 1900, by the eleven powers, including the United States, without reservations. But our troops, with the exception of a legation guard, had been already withdrawn from China, and it was understood that the United States retained its freedom of action in regard to any continued military operations under the final clause of the note. Quite unexpectedly the Chinese Government promptly acceded to the demands of the note. The settlement of the indemnity remained, and consumed eight months of negotiation. The protocol embodying the definitive terms of settlement was finally signed by China and the eleven powers without reservation on September 7, 1901. The protocol records the compliance of the Chinese Government with the demands of the powers embodied in the joint note, and provides for the payment of the indemnity. To show the nature of the settlement with China, the terms of the joint note and a summary of the protocol as to the indemnity are given below. After a lengthy preamble reciting the crimes of China against humanity and international law,

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and directly charging the Chinese Government with complicity, the note proceeds as follows:

Inasmuch as China has recognized her responsibility, expressed regret, and evinced a desire to see an end put to the situation created by the aforesaid disturbances, the powers have determined to accede to her request upon the irrevocable conditions enumerated below, which they deem indispensable to expiate the crimes committed and to prevent their recurrence.

I.

A. The despatch to Berlin of an extraordinary mission headed by an imperial prince, in order to express the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of the Chinese Government for the assassination of His Excellency the late Baron von Ketteler, Minister of Germany. [This demand was satisfied last summer by the memorable mission of Prince Chun.]

B. The erection, on the spot of the assassination, of a commemorative monument, befitting the rank of the deceased, bearing an inscription in the Latin, German, and Chinese languages expressing the regrets of the Emperor of China for the murder. [A memorial arch is now in course of construction.]

II.

A. The severest punishment for the persons designated in the imperial decree of September 25, 1900, and for those whom the representatives of the powers shall subsequently designate. [Prince Tuan and Duke Lan have ostensibly been exiled to Turkestan and condemned to life imprisonment, but it is well known that both are practically free men. Tung-fuh-siang has also escaped with a nominal punishment. The Chinese Government has informed the powers that Chuang, Ying-Nien, and Chao-Shu-Chiao have committed suicide in obedience to an imperial decree. Yu Hsien, Chi Hsiu, and Hsu Cheng-yu have been executed. The other leaders of the rising have either been honored by the Government or let off with a nominal punishment.]

B. The suspension for five years of all official examinations in all the cities where foreigners have been massacred or have been subjected to cruel treatment. [This indefensible demand has given a great impetus to the purchase of office and the irregular appointment of Manchu politicians.]

III.

Honorable reparation to be made by the Chinese Government to the Japanese Government for the murder of Mr. Sugiyama. [This demand has been satisfied by the mission of Na-Tung.]

IV.

An expiatory monument to be erected by the Imperial Chinese Government in every foreign or international cemetery which has been desecrated or in which the graves have been destroyed. [This is being done to the satisfaction of the powers.]

V.

The maintenance, under conditions to be determined by the powers, of the interdiction against the importation of arms as well as of materials employed exclusively for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. [By imperial edict of August 25, 1901, the importation of arms and ammunition was forbidden for two years; this term to be extended, if necessary, for subsequent successive periods of two years. This puerile demand is a measure of the statesmanship of the diplomats who drafted the note. It has simply put a premium on domestic production at the expense of the foreign manufacturer. Two thousand men are now employed at the arsenal in Han-

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kow and an equal number at Shanghai in manufacturing Mauser rifles, rapid-firing field guns, and all kinds of ammunition of the highest grade.]

VI.

Equitable indemnities for the Governments, societies, companies, and individuals, as well as for Chinese who, during the late occurrences, have suffered in person or in property in consequence of their being in the service of foreigners. China to adopt financial measures acceptable to the powers for the purpose of guaranteeing the payment of said indemnities and the interest and amortization of the loans. [The protocol provides that China shall pay to the powers indemnities aggregating 450,000,000 Haikwan taels (333,900,000 dollars gold) in Government bonds bearing 4 per cent interest payable semi-annually. Principal to be paid in annual instalments beginning January 1, 1903, and closing at the end of 1940. Payment to be made to a commission of bankers at Shanghai named by the several powers. The revenues assigned as security for the bonds are: (1) The balance of the revenues of the imperial maritime customs after payment of the interest and amortization of preceding loans secured on these revenues, plus the proceeds of the raising to five per cent effective of the present tariff on maritime imports, including articles until now on the free list, but exempting foreign rice, cereals, and flour, and gold and silver bullion and coin; (2) the revenues of the native customs, administered in the open ports by the imperial maritime customs; (3) the total revenues of the salt gabelle, exclusive of the fraction previously set aside for other foreign loans. The raising of the tariff was agreed to on condition, first, that all duties levied on imports ad valorem shall be converted as far as possible and as soon as may be into specific duties; and, secondly, that the beds of the Whangpoo and Peiho — the approaches to Shanghai and Tientsin — be improved, with the financial participation of China.]

VII.

The right, for each power, to maintain a permanent guard for its legation and to put the diplomatic quarter in a defensible condition, the Chinese having no right to reside in that quarter. [The legation quarter has been defined and already put in a defensible condition. China has recognized the right of each power to maintain a permanent legation guard within this quarter.]

VIII.

The destruction of the forts which might obstruct free communication between Peking and the sea. [This has been done to the satisfaction of the powers.]

IX.

The right to the military occupation of certain points, to be determined by an understanding among the powers, in order to maintain open communication between the capital and the sea. [The points agreed upon are: Huang-tsun, Lang-fang, Yang-tsun, Tientsin, Chun-liang Cheng, Tong-ku, Lu-tai, Tong-shan, Lan-chou, Chang-li, Chin-wang Tao, Shan-hai-Kuan. It is understood that the United States will not participate in this occupation.]

X.

The Chinese Government to cause to be published during two years in all the subprefectures an imperial decree (*a*) embodying a perpetual prohibition, under penalty of death, of membership in any anti-foreign society; (*b*) enumerating the punishments that shall have been inflicted on the guilty, together with the suspension of all official examinations in the cities where foreigners have been murdered or have been subjected to cruel treatment; and (*c*) furthermore, an imperial decree to be is-

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sued and published throughout the empire, ordering that the governors-general (viceroys), governors, and all provincial or local officials shall be held responsible for the maintenance of order within their respective jurisdictions, and that in the event of renewed anti-foreign disturbances or any other infractions of treaty occurring and which shall not forthwith be suppressed and the guilty persons punished, they, the said officials, shall be immediately removed and forever disqualified from holding any office or honors. [Such decrees have been published, but there is little hope that they will be taken seriously.]

XI.

The Chinese Government to undertake to negotiate amendments to the treaties of commerce and navigation considered useful by the foreign powers, and upon other matters pertaining to their commercial relations, with the object of facilitating them. [The new commercial treaties are to be negotiated in the near future by the several powers acting independently, but necessarily on a common basis.]

XII.

The Chinese Government to determine in what manner to reform the Department of Foreign Affairs, and to modify the Court ceremonials concerning the reception of foreign representatives, in the manner to be indicated by the powers.

Until the Chinese Government has complied with the above conditions to the satisfaction of the powers, the undersigned can hold out no expectation that the occupation of Peking and the province of Chih-li by the general forces can be brought to a conclusion.

[An imperial edict of July 24, 1901, transformed the Tsung-li Yamen into the Wai-wu Pu, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which takes precedence of the other six Ministries of State. The Court ceremonial has also been made to conform to the wishes of the powers.]

The terms of settlement are so manifestly unwise as to make it difficult to believe that they were formulated with a sincere desire of securing a lasting peace. With striking consistency the powers have done those things which they ought not to have done, and left undone those things which they ought to have done. (1) They ought to have strengthened the Chinese Government, proceeding on the necessary fiction of its innocence, not because it did not deserve punishment, but because it is manifestly in the interest of foreign intercourse that there shall be a strong native Government in China capable of maintaining peace, protecting foreign life and property, and discharging its international obligations. They have deliberately weakened and humiliated the Chinese Government by exacting a larger indemnity than it can safely pay, by prohibiting the importation of arms, by razing the Taku forts, and by establishing military stations between Peking and Tientsin, as well as a permanent legation guard. (2) They ought to have restricted or removed altogether the causes of Chinese hostility. They have multiplied them by imposing terms that are unjust, humiliating, and incompatible with Chinese sovereignty. (3) They ought to have seized the occasion to place foreign trade on a more satisfactory basis.

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They have burdened it with a crushing indemnity. (4) They ought to have shown their appreciation of the incalculable services of the great Southern viceroys in ignoring the orders of the Empress and maintaining peace in their provinces under circumstances of great provocation and at the risk of their lives, their fortunes, and their official positions. They have hypothecated the local revenues of these very viceroys for the payment of an unconscionable indemnity. (5) They ought to have played into the hands of the native reformers, not by demanding any specific reforms, but by manifesting a spirit of moderation and justice. They have acted with such gross injustice as to make it difficult for any Chinaman to say a good word for foreigners or to urge the adoption of reforms along Western lines.

The indemnity is so far beyond the capacity of China to pay, under her present revenue system, that it is certain to cause administrative paralysis in many quarters and to provoke popular risings. It will fall on the innocent rather than on the guilty, on the distant provinces and not on the central Government. The effect of paying the indemnity largely out of foreign duties will be that those powers which have demanded the smallest indemnities — they having the largest import trade — will pay the powers that have demanded the largest. Our Government endeavored to keep the indemnity within $200,000,000, believing that to be the extreme limit of China's ability to pay. Then, too, we were always prepared to scale our demands in return for increased trading privileges; but we were outvoted at every turn by powers having comparatively no commercial interests in China. France, Germany, and Russia were opposed to opening China more fully to foreign trade, because they hope to secure preferential advantages in their respective spheres of influence. But upon England rests the blame of the outcome. If she had sided vigorously with our Government, as we had every reason to expect and as her commercial interests in China demanded, the result would have been very different.

The tenth section of the joint note, making local Chinese officials responsible for anti-foreign outbreaks within their respective jurisdictions, was adopted at the suggestion of our Government, and is the most statesmanlike provision in the whole note. If it is enforced prudently and firmly by the joint action of the powers, and only in cases where the connivance or inexcusable neglect of the official is proved beyond a reasonable doubt, it will do more than anything else to render foreign life and property secure. The difficulty lies in securing trustworthy evidence of guilt from Chinese sources and unanimity of

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action by the powers. The want of success that has characterized Western diplomacy in China for sixty years has been largely due to the fact that it has not been founded on reality. It has falsely assumed that China was centralized; that administrative measures could be initiated at Peking; and that the Chinese Government could be treated like one of the centralized Governments of Europe. In dealing with a federal Government like the United States it is necessary for other powers to take cognizance of the limited control of the central Government over the several States. Just so, in dealing with China it is necessary to take cognizance of the fact that the provinces are all but independent. The distinctive features of the Chinese constitution are local democracy and provincial autonomy. China is a congeries of semi-independent states, called provinces, and there is a larger measure of local democracy than in America. To understand Chinese politics you must go to the village. A blow at Peking does not affect the whole organism.

Regret has been expressed that the powers did not take advantage of this occasion to throw all China open to foreign residence and trade; but it is sound policy to restrict rather than enlarge the exceptional rights of foreign residents. The relations between China and the West are just now so embittered that it would be folly to multiply causes of discord. It is far wiser to enforce with firmness and unanimity the rights we now have than to seek further rights incompatible with Chinese sovereignty and impossible of enforcement without working grave injustice to the Chinese Government and people. Foreign residence ought to be restricted, as it now is, except in the case of missionaries, to the treaty ports; for the reason that it is practically impossible for our consuls to exercise jurisdiction over their nationals in the interior. If an American citizen commits a crime in the interior of China, five hundred miles from the nearest consul, is it not palpably unjust to China to insist that the case shall be tried by the consul, remote from the scene of the crime and the residence of the witnesses? We cannot establish American courts in every judicial district of China. Hence, so long as we retain the right of extra-territoriality we are in honor estopped from demanding the opening of the interior. The interior of Japan was not opened to foreign residence until the powers yielded their right of extra-territoriality, and the precedent should be followed in China.

The settlement has been unjustly criticised for not providing security for the future. In so far as that object can be attained by treaty

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stipulations, the provision making local officials accountable for anti-foreign disturbances is all that could be desired. But paper guarantees are wellnigh valueless. It ought to be thoroughly understood that there can be no real security for the future except in the good-will of the Chinese people, and it is fatuous to suppose that we can secure that by any other means than good-will and fair dealing on our own part.

The settlement is distinctly distasteful to the American people; but our Government has played a great part in the negotiations, and emerges with honor and dignity. We have been worthily represented at Peking by Mr. Rockhill. Our disinterestedness has stood out in strong relief, and our course throughout has been one of rare moral distinction. To the covert and sinister designs of Europe we boldly opposed one or two elementary principles of international morality. That the Boxer rising did not lead to a war on China and a partition of the empire is almost wholly the result of the firm and unselfish opposition shown by our Government to a declaration of war at the outset, to the German proposal that the surrender of the Boxer leaders should be made a condition of peace negotiations, and, finally, to the provision of the original joint note making the death penalty for such leaders a condition of peace. We signed the treaty without reservations, but our opposition to its more objectionable features was so strenuous and prolonged that we cannot be held accountable for them. We signed the treaty reluctantly, and only to end intolerable conditions and to avoid the still greater evils that would have followed a break in the Concert.

Naturally enough, there has been much impatience in this country at our position in the Concert; but a policy of splendid isolation was impracticable owing to the solidarity of foreign interests in China. A single power can secure new rights, but old rights cannot well be modified or abolished without the consent of all. Then, too, it is only by united action that China can be forced to observe her treaty obligations or give new "security for the future." We were right in joining the Concert, but we blundered in not insisting that the principle to govern the assessment of the indemnity should be agreed upon in advance. The only powers materially interested in China are the United States, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. We should not for a moment acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Concert of Europe over the subject-matter, and we should peremptorily refuse to enter any conference of the powers concerning China in which there might be a chance of our being outvoted on important matters by powers having comparatively no interests in that country. Either the minor powers should be

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excluded from such a conference, or else all the important matters should be agreed upon in advance by the powers chiefly interested, leaving only the details to be worked out by the conference. Spain, Italy, Austria, Holland, and Belgium — powers having comparatively no interests in China — have had an equal vote at Peking with the United States, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan; and they generally voted more with reference to the game of European politics than to the merits of the question before them. The farce is not likely to be repeated.

Concerted action by all the powers is often necessary in China; but our interests, in many particulars, differ radically from those of every other power, and our policy, so far as possible, should be distinct and independent, and should be independently pursued. It should be our studied policy to impress the Chinese with our disinterestedness and our dissociation from the European powers, except when it is a question of enforcing treaty rights and protecting foreign life and property. Our recent experience shows how impossible it is that we should have an understanding with England in the Far East, and how dangerous it is for us to put our feet into the entangling meshes of European politics. The Chinese difficulty was not settled on its merits, but with reference to the exigencies of European politics. Lord Salisbury deliberately sacrificed British commercial interests in China to the supposed necessities of his country in Europe. It is well known that he considers it indispensable that England should have at least one firm friend on the Continent, and it is his policy to make Germany that friend. Moreover, with Germany unfriendly, there was grave probability of intervention in South Africa. In the circumstances, Lord Salisbury felt constrained, for fear of offending the German Emperor, to play a subordinate part in China, with results disastrous alike to American and British commercial interests.

We have compelled China to accept our terms of peace, but it remains to be seen whether we can compel her to live up to them. In the past she has always baffled us by a yielding resistance. A witty American minister at Peking once likened his task to boxing a feather-bed. Promises are freely given and high-sounding Pickwickian edicts issued, but the local officials have always had their way. In 1862, Sir Frederick Bruce, in my opinion the ablest minister England ever had at Peking, wrote to his Foreign Office: "In a country like China, where the principles of administration differ entirely from those practised by us, the conclusion of a treaty is the commencement, not the termination,

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of difficulties." Of the accuracy of this observation fresh proof is destined to be afforded by the settlement we have just made.

Foreign intercourse with China has always been unsatisfactory, and it will continue so indefinitely because of the exceptional rights and immunities which China has been forced to grant the foreigner. So long as China is treated differentially — that is, so long as she is compelled to treat the foreigner within her borders as no Western power treats a Chinaman or other foreigner in like circumstances — enlightened and patriotic Chinese will justly regard foreign intercourse as an evil. China cannot now meet this evil by regular warfare, and it is only natural that she should meet it by administrative obstruction, diplomatic finesse, and popular risings. There can be no just and lasting solution of the Chinese problem short of the admission of China into the family of nations on terms of perfect equality. The Western powers ought to encourage and assist China in the adoption of such judicial and administrative reforms as would make such admission safe. Unfortunately, there are several so-called Christian powers whose fixed policy it is to keep China weak, helpless, and degraded; and they are able to thwart the more humane and enlightened policy of the other powers. The only hope for China, therefore, is in the development of sufficient military strength to inspire fear and compel respect. She must imitate Japan. It was the Japanese army and navy, and not enlightened considerations of reciprocity, that induced the Western powers to surrender the right of extra-territoriality which they so long enjoyed in Japan.

The root of the difficulty in our relations with China lies in the fact that we impose upon her by force the obligations of a sovereign state in the family of nations, and at the same time withhold from her the rights of such a state. The Western powers say to China: You must allow our people to live among you; you must allow our merchants to trade and our missionaries to proselytize; you must allow us to navigate your inland waters and participate in your coasting trade, although we ourselves do not accord such privileges to the foreigner; you must allow us to send you opium, although you declare that it is injurious to the health and morals of your people, and that you could stamp out domestic production if importation were stopped; you must allow us to fix the amount of customs tariff we shall pay on your imports from us, although we ourselves regard the right of taxation as the most sacred of sovereign rights; you must allow our missionaries to reside in the interior of your country, but you must not exercise any authority over them, although their

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residence is so remote that our own officials cannot control them; you shall not enjoy the full reciprocity which obtains between Christian states in the exercise of jurisdiction over the subjects or citizens of each other in their respective territories, for your laws are barbarous, your judges ignorant and corrupt, and your prisons loathsome; we will not admit you into the family of nations on terms of equality, but we will, nevertheless, compel you to act as if you were so admitted; you must discharge the obligations of civilized intercourse, however ignorant you may be of them; in short, you shall bear the burdens of civilization but you shall not enjoy its privileges.

If there is to be lasting peace, if a greater rising than that of the Boxers is to be averted, there must be a radical change in this attitude of the West toward China. If we were asked to outline an ideal policy for the powers, we should say: Respect the national life of the Chinese people and the integrity of their territory. Allow the Chinese themselves to determine the conditions of their own life and the course and direction of their development, as long as they do not withhold the right of civilized intercourse. For differential treatment substitute reciprocal treatment. For arrogance, contempt, and intimidation substitute consideration, conciliation, and forbearance. Restrict, rather than enlarge, foreign rights differing in kind or degree from the rights which you yourselves grant to foreigners. Maintain existing treaty rights with firmness and unanimity; but promise China that you will give up extra-territoriality and other exceptional rights, and admit her into the family of nations on terms of reciprocity, as soon as she adopts adequate judicial and administrative reforms. Limit foreign residence to the open ports until you are prepared to give up extra-territoriality. Protect missionaries in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges, but forbid them to intermeddle between their converts and the Chinese authorities. Do not impose reforms from without, but encourage reforms originating within. Above all, patience. Do not attempt to rush China. As Sir Robert Hart has wisely said:

> Might it not be better to go slow and let healthy evolution perfect its own natural process? It is the felt want, and the felt want alone, that will make way for what really requires to be added or changed or set aside, and it is the Chinese themselves that must feel that want, and not the foreigner, if the attempt to supply it is to be welcomed and not opposed, is to be a success and not a failure.

The policy of force — of intimidation and criminal aggression — has been followed for sixty years and has failed miserably. Why not try the opposite policy as an experiment? We are told that the Chinese are Asiatics and amenable to nothing but force, and that a policy of

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conciliation would be construed as weakness and followed by disaster. How do we know? It has never been tried. Recall the ever-memorable words of Burke: "Nobody shall persuade me, when a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation." The Chinese are remarkable for their reasonableness and would quickly respond to a policy of conciliation and reciprocity. Conceding that force is the only remedy, there is not enough available foreign force to hold in permanent subjection a fourth of the human race. All Europe is not strong enough to carry China on its back, and there is not a power in Europe that would dare to weaken its position at home by withdrawing sufficient troops to police a single populous Chinese province. The policy of force can never solve the Chinese problem, because it can never generate in the Chinese those feelings of respect and good-will for foreigners which must exist before China can safely be admitted into the family of nations; and anything short of such an admission cannot be a lasting solution.

MARK B. DUNNELL.

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WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE PHILIPPINES?

THE final disposition of the Philippine Islands will depend on questions of expediency, to be decided in a manner compatible with our national and international obligations. An intelligent discussion of the subject requires, therefore, a careful consideration of our past, present, and prospective relations with these people, and of the political, commercial, and industrial conditions of the Islands, past, present, and prospective; a correct appreciation of the fundamental principles of international law on which our responsibilities to the Philippines and to other nations are based; and an intimate knowledge of the political tendencies here as well as there, as probably affecting our future relations with them, whatever the final disposition of the Islands may be.

Our relations with the Filipinos began in a very favorable manner. We first came in contact with them through our able consular agents, and then through one of our greatest naval officers of this generation. Their representatives in that contact were of their ablest, most progressive type — men who had been prominent before the Filipino public for years; who had become leaders of the native population by their own force of character and as a result of preëxisting conditions; and who, as the sequel undoubtedly proved, possessed the whole confidence and the loyal support of the majority of the Filipino people. Our attitude, as they saw it, was that of deliverers from the galling yoke of a foreign bondage which for three hundred years they had tried vainly to shake off. This attitude was guaranteed to them by the courteous hearings given to their representatives and by the cordial coöperation of their forces with ours in the beginning of the contest with Spain, and was clenched in their minds by the arms and ammunition supplied to them through the action of our authorities, with the full approval, as they believed, of the Administration. This was to their minds the crowning test of friendship, recognition, and alliance.

Following this came the sale of Spanish rights in the islands to the United States, and the assumption by our Government of sovereignty over the archipelago. There can be no doubt that our assumption was

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and is correctly founded on the principles of international law. Sovereignty must be vested somewhere, in some recognized power in the family of nations. Revolutions, to be effective in the transfer of sovereignty, must be successful, and that success must be recognized. Technically, in spite of the high-sounding phrases contained in our Declaration of Independence, the sovereignty of the colonies was probably vested in Great Britain, in the international sense, until she, by treaty, ceded that sovereignty to the new power which emerged from the throes of the eight years' revolution. It was certainly so vested until the recognition of our independence by France. There has never been a Filipino sovereignty recognized by Spain, by the United States, or by any other member of the family of nations. The existence of such a sovereignty was dependent on its success in obtaining recognition. This does not in any way conflict with the inherent ultimate right to a change of government by revolution — a right inalienably possessed by every people — but merely asserts the evident fact that to create a national existence such a revolution must succeed.

Hence, in the sense of international law, the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands was vested in Spain until she, by treaty, duly ceded that sovereignty to the United States, when the United States became fully vested therewith. Thus there devolved upon us full responsibility for the exterior relations of the islands and their internal administration. The nations of the world looked to us to guarantee to their subjects in that part of our territory the rights assured to them by treaty — protection commensurate with our power and responsibility.

Not only so; the inhabitants also had a right to look to us to redeem the constitutional pledges respecting personal rights and liberty which are guaranteed to every citizen of the United States by our own fundamental charter of organized government. Whether courts so hold or not, it is undoubtedly the desire of our people generally that the rights of free speech, of the free exercise of religion, of trial by jury, and of the benefit of habeas corpus shall extend to every person subject to the sovereign power of our country, with such limitations only as the safety of paramount public interests may require.

Yet a complication arose which disturbed the orderly and progressive application of these principles, and has proved to be a serious obstacle to peaceful progress. This impediment was simply the fact that Spain could not deliver possession. Cession of territory usually implies peaceable possession. In the case of Porto Rico, we had, by the able strategy of the commanding general, possession of all the country except the

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armed camps of the Spaniards. But in that of the Philippines the conditions were reversed. Not only did we make use of the tacitly acknowledged allies, after arming them, but those same forces were actually, at the time of the cession of Spanish sovereignty, in effective possession of nearly all the archipelago except Manila, Iloilo, Baler, and perhaps one or two other unimportant points. Under the technical application of international law they had no sovereign rights; but the fact remains that they had actually made themselves masters of the territory, had captured the Spanish garrisons, were in possession of the official records, and, whether we acknowledge it or not, had organized a system of government, republican in form but imperial in nature, well suited to their needs and very effective in administration. Not only was Spain unable to deliver possession, but she left a legacy of strife entailed upon us by as unfortunate a series of misunderstandings as ever complicated a page in history.

It was hardly to be expected that the mass of the Filipino people would be able to discriminate as above on nice points of international law. The majority of our own people cannot do so. Still less could they appreciate the fine points of our internal system by which the final determination of our policy with reference to Spain and to them had to be postponed for the deliberative action of a political body, in which the most delicate points of our domestic and foreign relations were made the subject of heated and partisan discussions. Moreover, these discussions degenerated into acrimonious political recriminations in which not only the merits of the questions at issue, but likewise the lives and welfare of Filipinos and American soldiers, were equally forgotten, and in which after months of useless delay the honor of the United States, the integrity of the administration, and the dignity of our representatives abroad were upheld by the narrow margin of one vote.

When our own representatives, who had so unanimously plunged us into a war of which these conditions were the direct result, so far forgot that patriotic unanimity which ought to have characterized our whole course in everything relating to that war, less blame can be placed on the leaders of the revolution in the Philippines, who eagerly grasped at the tangible hope of independent sovereignty, of new-born but cherished nationality, thus so plainly set before them. The speeches of those who so noisily opposed the policy of the Administration were published broadcast in the islands by active agencies, not all of which were in the Philippines, and, translated into the Spanish language and thence into the native dialects, became the ordinary topic of daily discussion by the

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simple natives in the remotest parts of the archipelago. Nor was it the judicial utterances of men of standing and wisdom, who conscientiously opposed the actual course of the Government, which received the widest circulation and carried the most weight. It was rather the incendiary utterances of partisan orators who openly condemned the policy of the Government that were most speedily translated, most widely distributed, and most eagerly read by the poor, deluded, ignorant people. They were thus lured on to deeds of violence against lawfully constituted authority, which deeds recoiled on their own heads, bringing untold misery and destruction.

The awakening has been painful. Slowly but surely the conviction has been driven home to them that nothing can stay the irresistible onward march of American authority in the Philippines. Its progress, although conducted as gently and with as little severity as possible, under such conditions, has been marked by many heartrending scenes of anguish. War is never a gentle minister, and civil war is the worst phase of armed conflict. When civil war degenerates into open bushwhacking and acknowledged guerilla operations but little can be added to its horrors, and that little has been added by the secret machinations of the unspeakable Katipunan society, controlled in the interest and for the personal aggrandizement of a few unscrupulous leaders, with absolute disregard for the honor, liberty, welfare, or happiness of any part of the people so powerfully affected by its terrible crimes.

The common people, not intelligent enough to discriminate between the treasonable rant of demagogues and the solid utterances of conservative statesmen or the formal announcements of government policy, and not sufficiently well informed to draw correct conclusions as to the significance of current events, bitterly charge the American people with deception, fraud, and duplicity. They honestly believe they are right. The few native leaders who are sufficiently well informed and intelligent to appreciate the stern conditions that have resulted from their rash, ill-considered, and selfish policy are utterly powerless to stem the tide of revolution. A few, in a half-hearted and uncertain way, professing of late a conversion of sentiment, and incited thereto by palpable hope of honors and emoluments, are timidly working with ostentatious publicity, that according to Filipino traits may conceal deep duplicity, for the pacification of the islands on the basis of autonomous government. The very suddenness of their conversion, and the honors and offices that have fallen to some ex-revolutionists, discredit them in the eyes of their former followers, who rationally ask themselves whether it is safe

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any longer to follow pilots who deserted the ship in the midst of the storm, sacrificing consistency at least, and in their eyes also integrity, to the gratification of their passion for dominating power.

Yet the steady advance of our armed forces, penetrating gradually into the remotest recesses of the interior, gives tangible assurance that we have by force established our recognized authority in actual supremacy in all parts of the country; while side by side with it the implanting of the free school and the advance of commercial relations moving at an even and sustained but accelerating rate of progress assure us that a better mutual understanding will replace the bitterness that has necessarily resulted from the above conditions. Now that we have reached a point from which this consummation is happily in sight, broad-minded and conservative statesmen may well pause to review the actual situation, and seriously ask themselves what ultimate disposition of these possessions will best conserve our national interests without being incompatible with our national honor and the best interests of the Filipinos themselves.

Heretofore, the full possession and enjoyment of American citizenship has been tacitly acknowledged to be the destiny of all our acquired territory. But in this case the distance is so great, and the alien character of these people so distinct, that it is worse than folly to hold out to them the idea of proximate statehood. Should they ever become fitted for it, this result can be attained only in the course of many generations. In the meantime the dependency must be governed; and this has introduced to our earnest consideration many grave questions, not the least of which pertain to public economy and national defence.

It is conceded that for many years the firm application of strong military power will be absolutely necessary to the maintenance of order and tranquillity. There is but slight encouragement to believe that the actual force of about 45,000 men now there can be soon materially reduced, and none to hope that the resources of the country, so greatly impoverished by many years of war, will ever be adequate to do more than support its own civil list and constabulary. Therefore, there is entailed on the United States the heavy burden of about $67,500,000 per year, merely for police purposes, in a country which evidently cannot become more than selfsupporting.

But in this proposition there is a deeper significance than mere expense. This force comprises the bulk of the military forces of the United States. So long as it is there, the forces at home will be but auxiliary to the effectiveness of the force thus withdrawn from duty in

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the home country. Leaving out of account the artillery (17,000), which may be broadly considered a fixture in our sea-coast fortifications, there is available for relief purposes 21,000 men only, always to be in process of reorganization and primary instruction in the United States, while standing as half a relief or reinforcement for that irksome and onerous duty in the Philippines. Further, in case of any sudden demand for a first line of defence, the force in the Philippines will be not only no longer available, but will possibly be cut off from relief or succor, while at the same time occupying the most exposed part of our territory. Those who were on board the army transports which hastily put back into Port Tampa on June 7, 1898, at the false report of a Spanish fleet in the Nicholas Channel, will fully appreciate the difficulty of either transferring the forces there to the United States or sending reinforcements to them. In other words, we sacrifice two-thirds of our actual army to the needs of an outlying possession, which is of little benefit to us, and which we retain subject to such final disposition as the best interests of all concerned may require. In time of war the Philippines become a source of public danger and national weakness, absorbing our preparations and dividing our energies.

If there were any great public policy to be served there can be no doubt that the people of the United States would heroically make whatever sacrifices might be required to sustain it. But the United States desires no other policy in Asia than the open door, a policy happily guaranteed to us by solemn treaties, and already assured, independently of our occupation of the Philippines or of their ultimate disposition. Besides, the Philippines do not promise to be a special source of national pride or aggrandizement, even in time of peace. Their commerce is not at present an important factor in our export trade; and, while it will undoubtedly increase, there is no reason why we should not participate in it as much to our advantage under a satisfactory treaty arrangement with some responsible power as under the present system.

It may, therefore, be concluded that the permanent retention and government of the islands as dependencies is only one solution of the many problems here presented; that such a course is not especially desirable from the standpoint of domestic policy, either in peace or in war, and may indeed prove an element of national weakness in time of war; that some other honorable disposition, if any such there be, would be in harmony with the best interests of the United States and would probably be acceptable to the people of the Philippines; but that the honor of the United States requires the thorough establishment of stable condi-

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tions as the first step toward a consideration of the ultimate disposition of the islands.

Unfortunate as have been the events of the last three years in our relations with the Filipinos, these events have demonstrated a virility, a capacity for organization, and a tenacity of purpose which were never before credited to them. Their *de facto* government was a strong one, exercising real power over the people while it lasted. It was distinctly an advance on the former Spanish rule. The ease with which their leaders have maintained secret authority over the people since its disintegration demonstrates the cohesive power of their projected system. The bitter sacrifices they have made on the altar of nationalism and the devotion which they have manifested in blindly following a mistaken ideal give earnest of rich development under more favorable conditions. For the purposes of this discussion it matters little whether or not the common people were impelled thereto by fear of the secret system of espionage and administration adopted by their leaders; in the main they were loyal to their now defeated and discredited chiefs, whom they still admire and reverence. Such tenacity to a lost cause is marvellous. It supplies abundant food for reflection as to whether, with more favorable opportunities, they might not speedily rise to a more dignified position as a people.

This chain of ideas leads to the suggestion whether the proposition of autonomous government, advanced by some of the Filipino leaders, is not, after all, the best solution of our relations with the Islands. It seems to be almost unanimously the opinion of competent observers that the Filipinos are far better able to institute and maintain even an independent government than the Cubans, who have been intrusted with that delicate task by the United States. But there enters into this consideration a serious objection, founded on racial defects of character common among them. In all our dealings with them we have encountered that defect; and all competent observers, from Foreman to the present time, have noticed it. That defect is the absence of sincerity and good faith among them, a vice observed not only in their relations with all foreigners, but equally in their internal intercourse. No Tagalo can trust a Macabebee, nor can either of them depend on the good faith of a Visayan. Still worse, they show the same defects in their inter-tribal relations; so that duplicity and treachery form the normal attitude of every native toward all the rest of mankind. It would ill become the United States Government to launch on the sea of international relations a craft which would be steered by such a chart.

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But there are strong reasons why we should discharge ourselves at the earliest opportunity of an Asiatic responsibility which may entail upon us endless difficulties and complications. Now that the United States is a world power in the true sense of the word, it stands essentially for two well-determined policies. The first of these is one that has become almost as fundamental a principle in our foreign relations as the Constitution itself. This is the Monroe Doctrine, which may be aptly set forth in the phrase, "America for Americans." It implies, in my judgment, not merely that we defend the Western Hemisphere from outside interference, but inversely, that we will refrain from unnecessary interference in the affairs of the Eastern Hemisphere. "Europe for the Europeans," "Asia for Asiatics," are expressions just as logical, to the observance of which we are bound not merely by consistency, but equally by the long-established policy of our Government.

The possession of a permanent Asiatic dependency may vitally menace these principles. So long as the United States adheres consistently to the domination of the Western Hemisphere, it may logically maintain the principle of non-interference therein by any other power, assuming to that extent the protection of other and weaker Western nations from the rapacity of Eastern powers. But if we should permanently invade the Eastern world, we could no longer logically maintain that position. The right of any European country to a South American dependency, if obtained in some manner as legitimate as our acquisition of the Philippines, would be as logical as our right in Asia; nor could we logically maintain the contrary. If it be accepted that the Monroe Doctrine is a fundamental one in our foreign relations, we are bound to respect the implied limitation. If we seek a field for the expansion of Anglo-Saxon ideas we have a broad one in our own continent, not yet even fallow-ploughed; and the peaceful extension of more cordial and intimate political and commercial relations with our South American neighbors has been, since it became so intimately linked with the name of Blaine, a recognized field of American diplomacy. It was clearly indicated and emphasized in the last speech of President McKinley, and conforms equally to our past policy and our future interests.

Few will assert, and none can successfully maintain, that our course in the Philippines could have been different from what it has been. But our entrance there and our subsequent operations to maintain our sovereignty have been, until the present time, merely an incident unavoidably connected with a righteous war which was forced upon us by unavoidable circumstances. They have not, as yet, become a part of our

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definite and settled policy as affecting other nations; nor are we committed to any action beyond the establishment there of law and order, tranquillity and good government. We are now at the parting of the ways. The coming years will determine whether we are to depart from the wise policies that have heretofore governed us and embark upon stormy and unknown seas, or whether we shall guide the ship which bears our national destiny along the old-established and well-plotted course laid down by the Fathers of the Republic. May the God of Nations aid us to choose aright!

The desire for a foreign outlet is just as strong among other nations as with us. We have been absorbing the young brawn and brain of Europe until our draft on the older countries has become a serious menace to their interests. We have encouraged immigration until the time has come when we may well pause to inquire whether it would not be well for our own interests to check the steady stream which has set for over a hundred years toward our shores. The normal increase of our own population will insure for our future a healthy growth, nurtured in American principles and imbued with a patriotism that has not to be transplanted. We have grand territory of our own yet to be reclaimed from the primeval wilderness, sufficient for many a decade for the normal growth of our own people. We have few to spare for the deadly perils either of Asiatic jungles or of Filipino treachery. The stream of an immigration no longer desirable might, perhaps, be diverted to those Eastern shores, insuring the development of those islands under some more interested power, and, perhaps, at the same time turning the gaze of neighbors, already semi-hostile, to an Asiatic rather than an Occidental expansion.

The right of alienating territory is equal to that of acquiring it; and it may well be seriously considered whether the cession of the Philippines for some suitable equivalent to some European or Asiatic power, capable of guaranteeing the continuance of the stable conditions we have therein instituted, would not be the best disposition we could make of an undesirable and embarrassing possession forced upon us by unavoidable and unforeseen circumstances. If such a disposition could be made, at the same time guaranteeing to us that "open door" and "trade expansion" demanded by the second of our fundamental foreign policies, this course might, perhaps, be compatible with our national honor and in harmony with our best interests.

JOHN H. PARKER.

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THE EXPANSION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION.

POPULATION lies at the basis of all human problems. The growth and expansion of the black race in America must be the controlling factor in the many complex problems to which its presence gives rise. Political, industrial, and social adjustment will depend upon the development and expansive tendency of the black bulk. Exact knowledge concerning the condition of the brother in black, or rather the brother in colors, has a far deeper importance than usually attaches to dry statistics. The social philosopher must rely upon it as a basis of sober speculation; the statesman must reckon with it in the formulation of policy; and the philanthropist has need of it in order that he may adopt wise measures of relief.

The student of race development looks to the federal census as furnishing the surest indication of its general trend and final outcome. The theories as to the destiny of the negro race, based upon the several censuses since 1860, have swung with the regularity of a pendulum between the extreme limits of speculation. As a result of the count of 1870, those who assumed the sociological wisdom of their day predicted that the race would not be self-sustaining under freedom, and that its ultimate extinction would only be a matter of time. Ten years later a new alarm was sounded. The startling increase of the negro race as revealed by the census of 1880 gave rise to a new dread which was christened with a new name. We then heard for the first time of the "Africanization" of America; and the nation was solemnly warned that the over-prolific barbarian must be returned to the land of his savage sires without regard to material or moral cost. In the succeeding decade the extinction theory was revived. The low rate of increase between 1880 and 1890 was taken as proof positive that the race was doomed through degenerative traits and tendencies. These rhythmic theories have, in turn, had their day and ceased to be, and are now in the limbo of absurdity. Such examples should warn the present-day speculator to exercise less haste and more caution in building a theory upon the twelfth census.

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The growth of the negro population for the last ten years has been healthy and normal, affording little room for sensational speculation. The pendulum has reached the middle point between its extreme ranges.

A comprehensive view of the negro population for the last one hundred years will reveal the changes of tendency wrought by the new political and industrial régime which emancipation effected, and will also afford a hint as to the direction and tendency of future expansion.

NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Negro population.	DECENNIAL INCREASE.		Per cent of total population.
		Number.	Per cent.	
1790	757,208	.....	.....	19.27
1800	1,002,037	244,829	32.33	18.18
1810	1,377,808	375,771	37.50	19.03
1820	1,771,656	393,848	28.50	18.39
1830	2,328,642	556,986	31.44	18.10
1840	2,873,648	545,006	23.44	16.84
1850	3,638,808	765,169	26.63	15.69
1860	4,441,830	803,022	22.07	14.13
1870[1]	4,880,009	438,179	9.87	11.68
1880[2]	6,580,793	1,700,784	34.85	13.12
1890	7,470,040	889,247	13.51	11.93
1900	8,840,789	1,370,749	18.35	11.57

[1] Estimated by General Francis A. Walker. [2] New territory.

Prior to the Civil War the negro was sheltered and protected by the institution of slavery, the philosophy of whose method was inspired by gain. For a part of this time the ranks were reinforced by fresh importations. Under these influences the black population increased between 1790 and 1860 from 757,208 to 4,441,830, or, in other words, sextupled itself in seventy years. Under thirty-five years of freedom, these four and a half million ex-slaves have grown to 8,840,789 souls; that is, the population has doubled itself in four decades. The black increment from 1890 to 1900 was 1,370,749, a number sufficient to populate the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut to their present degree of density. This increment is in itself the strongest possible argument against the theory which ten years ago predicted the disappearance of the negro through enfeebled vital capacity.

On scanning by decades the increase of the negro population since 1860, one is mainly impressed with its irregularity.

DECENNIAL RATE OF INCREASE OF NEGRO POPULATION.

1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
9.87 per cent.	34.85 per cent.	13.51 per cent.	18.35 per cent.	

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When a population is not affected by immigration, emigration, or other perturbing influences, the increment should conform to some regular and easily ascertainable law. But, instead, we find that the growth of the negro population has been as irregular as if due to sportive caprice. This irregularity can be most easily and satisfactorily explained on the assumption of bad counting. It is customary to assume the imperfection of the census of 1870 as the cause of the amazing increase of 1880; but this would utterly fail to account for the subsequent discrepancies. There was, at the time, a widespread suspicion that the census of 1890, especially as it affected the negro population, was grossly inaccurate. The twelfth census furnishes strong corroborative proof of this suspicion. How shall we account for the behavior of a series whose every condition demands uniformity, but which suddenly rises from 9.87 to 34.85 per cent, then dips to 13.51, and then, without warning, jumps to 18.35 per cent? Is it not easier to impute error to the census office, which is subject to ordinary human imperfection, than to suppose that nature violates her well-known method, and in this isolated instance whimsically proceeds by leaps and bounds?

The figures show that the negro constitutes a slowly diminishing minority of the total population; but this relative diminution is due to the influx of white immigration. Since 1860 the white race has been reinforced by more than 14,000,000 fresh recruits. These newcomers were, for the most part, in the prime of life, and they have contributed more than their share to the growth of the native white element. If the two races should continue to grow at the same rate as during the past decade, according to the law of diminishing ratios, it would require 110 years to reduce the negro element to one-tenth of the total population. We may, therefore, for all practical purposes, regard ten per cent as the irreducible minimum. So long as the negro constitutes one-tenth of the nation, the race problem will continue in all its forms and phases. This problem is at bottom a social one; and so long as the injection of one negro will upset the social composure of ten white persons the problem will be kept alive, even if the blacks should be equably diffused throughout the entire mass. It is vain to look for a solution through the relative decline of the negro element.

Seeing, then, that the negro will constitute a persistent physical factor of the population for all the time which our discussion can consider, it may be interesting to notice how this race tends to expand itself, and to ponder the consequent problems which its development entails. There are four clearly defined tendencies: (1) movement toward

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the Northern States; (2) drifting away from the border region; (3) influx into the cities; (4) solidifying in the Southern States and in the black belt.

(1) The movement toward the North and West has not been of sufficient magnitude to affect materially the general mass. It might seem, on a first view, that the negro who complains so bitterly and so justly against harsh restrictions in the South would rush to the freer conditions of the North as a gas escapes from a region of higher to one of lower pressure. But, on closer inspection, we find that he does well to bear the ills which he has rather than fly to those he knows not of. The warm-blooded, warm-hearted child of the tropics is chilled not more by the rigidity of the climate than by the frigidity of the social atmosphere which prevails in the higher latitudes. There are not as many negroes in all New England as there are in Washington and Bolivar counties in the State of Mississippi. Between industrial exclusion in the North and political suppression in the South there is not much to choose. In the thirty-one Northern and Western States and Territories the negroes are not as numerous as in the State of Alabama.

NEGRO POPULATION.

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
In Alabama	437,730	475,510	600,103	678,489	827,307
In thirty-one Free States ..	227,216	341,127	483,640	577,912	759,788

The number of negroes in the free States had risen from 5 per cent of the entire race in 1860 to 8.5 per cent in 1900, leaving 91.5 per cent of the race still in the old slave States. These figures reveal no mad hegira to a fairer or happier land. The negro increment for the old free States during the last decade was 181,876, most of which was found in the large cities of the East. From 1890 to 1900 Pennsylvania gained 49,249 negroes, New York 29,143, New Jersey 22,206, Illinois 28,056, and Indiana 12,290, leaving a paltry 50,000 for the increment in the other twenty-six States. The growth in all the free States west of the Mississippi was only 5,943. There was an absolute decrease in the negro population of California, Oregon, Nevada, Nebraska, New Mexico, and the two Dakotas. It is safe to predict that the future will present no precipitous rush of negroes to the North and West. The race can hardly adjust itself to the severe rigors of the climate or compete with Anglo-Saxon rivalry where it lets itself out at full length. Nor is there

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any guarantee against violence and outrage. We have recently heard of race riots in New York and Illinois, of lynchings in Ohio and Indiana, and of burning at the stake in Kansas and Colorado.

(2) The tendency of the negro to drift away from the border States is notable and significant. If we take the region including Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, we find that, in twenty years, the negro population has done scarcely more than hold its own. The increase in two decades has been 15 per cent only. Even this small increment has been due almost wholly to the growth of such cities as St. Louis, Louisville, Memphis, and Baltimore. The purely rural section of this region has grown little if at all since 1880. While the negro element has remained almost stationary, the whites have increased by 40 per cent. There can be no doubt that the border States, at least, will ultimately become a white man's country. State boundaries give a very imperfect outline of this region. If we should shut out the western part of Tennessee and Kentucky and include the western half of North Carolina and Virginia, the thinning-out process would be greatly accentuated.

The decline of the negro element in the border section is significant whether viewed in the light of cause or consequence. The agricultural conditions are not so easy as in the farther South; and many negroes leave the section for the Northern States because of close proximity. But perhaps the chief reason for the decline of the negro element is the unsatisfactory social condition which prevails. The negro is by nature a gregarious creature, and longs for pleasant intercourse and social congeniality with those of his own kind and color. In the border States there exists all the social and civil separation of the races that prevails in the far South. The few negroes, who are thinly scattered among the whites, feel themselves in social captivity, and naturally seek those communities whither the race resorts in larger numbers. This fact is suggestive of the destiny of the negro not only in the border area, but in the country at large. Birds of a feather will flock together, even though that feather be a black one.

(3) The growth of the urban population is one of the most marked sociological phenomena of modern times. The negro has joined the procession from sheer force of imitation. Although he has no fixed status in the industrial régime of city life, he is attracted by its allurements as a moth by the glare of a candle. He is compelled to loiter around the ragged edge of industry, and can obtain only such kind of employment as white men are unwilling to accept. He inevitably sinks

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to the bottom of the social medium, and forms the dregs of municipal life. The individual of exceptional endowment will rise to a commanding place; but his elevation, so far, has had little influence upon the industrial lot of the mass below. The aimless drifting into the alleys and crime-dens of the large cities constitutes the most lamentable feature of the negro problem.

The twelfth census shows that there are forty-one cities with a colored population of more than 8,000, the total number of negroes in these cities reaching about one million. This exceeds the total city population of the United States in 1830, when there were twenty-six cities above the 8,000 limit, with an aggregate of 860,000 souls. The social and industrial backwardness of the negro cannot be more strikingly illustrated than by this comparison. It will require almost superhuman effort to bring these people up to the level of opportunity and efficiency maintained by their white fellow-citizens.

There are fifteen cities containing more than 20,000 negroes, with a total population of 700,000. Five of these cities exceed 60,000, namely, Washington, with 86,702; Baltimore, with 79,259; New Orleans, with 77,714; Philadelphia, with 62,613; and New York, with 60,666. The increase in these fifteen cities in the last decade has been 29 per cent. Several cities have shown surprising rapidity of growth. The negro population increased 55 per cent in Philadelphia, 111 per cent in Chicago, 74 per cent in Memphis, and 68 per cent in New York. It is not known how long these rates of growth can continue before these cities will have taken on as much of the dark element as the social medium can hold in solution without causing a black precipitation.

The most marked feature of the urban negro population is the predominance of the female element. While the negro man has no fixed place in the industrial order of the large cities, there is an almost unlimited demand for competent colored female servants in the domestic industries. There are on the average 120 negro females to every 100 negro males in the large centres. Washington has an excess of 10,000, and Baltimore of 9,000, negro females. This disproportion is a most serious factor in the urban life of the negro, and one that must be taken into account in the formulation of plans for his social betterment.

(4) A careful study of the growth and movement of the negro population shows that it is solidifying along the river courses and fertile plains where it was most thickly planted by the institution of slavery. The centre of gravity is slowly moving toward the Gulf of Mexico. The negro does not belong to a nomadic race. Ninety-two per cent of the

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race is still found in the sixteen original slave States. There are eight Southern States with more than half a million negroes.

NEGRO POPULATION IN EIGHT SOUTHERN STATES.

	Negro population in 1900.	Increase from 1890 to 1900.		Negro population in 1900.	Increase from 1890 to 1900.
Virginia.....	660,722	25,284	Mississippi.....	907,630	165,071
North Carolina....	624,469	63,450	Louisiana.....	650,804	91,611
South Carolina....	782,321	93,387	Texas.....	620,722	132,551
Georgia	1,034,813	175,998			
Alabama.....	827,307	148,818	Total	6,108,788	896,170

The negroes in these States outnumber the entire population of the United States in 1800, and their decennial increase exceeds the population of Vermont and New Hampshire combined. Although the negroes outnumber the whites in South Carolina and Mississippi only, nevertheless they constitute the majority in the group of States comprising South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, a continuous territory of 290,000 square miles. This area contains 4,433,605 negroes and 4,308,398 whites. The negroes gained the numerical ascendancy in 1870 and have held their own ever since. During the last census decade the negroes increased more rapidly than the whites in Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, maintained almost an exact parity in Georgia, but showed a sharp relative decline in South Carolina and Louisiana. The surprising gain of the white race in Louisiana may be explained by the likelihood that many of the light-hued colored people, of whom there were 90,000 in 1890, were returned as white. It is interesting to note, however, that outside of New Orleans the negroes constitute a majority of more than 50,000 in the State.

If we draw a line from the head of the Chesapeake Bay, bisecting Virginia and North Carolina, to the middle of the northern boundary of South Carolina, and thence along the northern boundary of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, continuing to Little Rock, Arkansas, and thence southwest to the 97th meridian, and along this meridian to the Gulf of Mexico, we enclose a region of about 400,000 square miles, in which three-fourths of the negroes reside, and where they constitute a majority of the total population. It is here that the race problem must be worked out, and the persistence of the black factor shows that it cannot be solved by elimination.

If we study the county as a smaller unit of area, several interesting

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results are revealed. The tendency of the negro to gather into "black belts" is marked and unmistakable.

NUMBER OF COUNTIES IN WHICH NEGROES ARE MORE NUMEROUS THAN THE WHITES.

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
More than two to one.....	71	79	92	103	108
Less than two to one	166	170	178	165	171
Total	237	249	270	268	279

This Africanized area increased from 71 counties in 1860 to 108 counties in 1900. These counties would make a State of about the size and population of Georgia. The average density of the negro element within these counties is more than three times that of the whites, and is steadily increasing. Surrounding these spaces that are hopelessly black, there are 171 counties in which the negroes exceed the whites, but are less than twice as numerous. It is thus seen that there are 279 counties, covering an area of about 150,000 square miles, in which the negroes constitute the majority of the population. This modern land of Goshen, as it has been called, is quite as large as the North Atlantic division of States, and contains about 130 negroes to 100 whites. Fully half of the negro race is found in these counties. This area of total eclipse is fringed by a penumbra that fades away by imperceptible stages until its sombreness is entirely lost.

The opposite tendency of the Southern population is also noticeable. Just as the black spots are growing blacker, the white spots are growing whiter. In Virginia, where a constitutional convention is now sitting for the purpose of eliminating the ignorant negro from the governmental equation, there are ten counties in which the negro constitutes less than ten per cent of the population. In one county there are 9,687 whites and only five negroes. There is but one negro voter, and we are told that he is intelligent! The white counties writhe under the yoke sought to be imposed on the black ones, which has been the cause of not a little political friction.

As a general rule, where the negro constitutes a small fraction of the population his relative decline is notable. There is a marked tendency toward a geographical separation. This has not been brought about by any philanthropic scheme of policy, but by the sheer force of racial gravitation.

If we turn to the cities the same segregative tendency is noticeable.

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In all our large centres of population there are white wards and black wards, with which the politician is as familiar as the seaman with the depths and shallows of the sea. As manufacturing industries move Southward, the country whites will be drawn to the cities as operatives along lines of higher mechanical skill, leaving the blacks in numerical preponderance in the rural districts. Wherever possible, the whites avoid rivalry with the negroes on terms of equality, and studiously shun black communities as a place of residence. This process will continue until there are left in the black belts only a few whites who remain for purposes of philanthropy or gain.

The great mass of the negro population will be gathered into the black belts and into the corresponding wards of our large cities, from which many volatile particles will fly in all directions to be dissipated and lost. This will be due no less to internal cohesion than to the solidifying power of outside pressure. We have here a suggestion for the statesman and the philanthropist as to the wise method of treatment. The social and industrial life must be elevated. These humble people who have demonstrated a capacity for knowledge, virtue, and intelligent industry must be given an opportunity for its development and exercise. It is no reproach to say that if left to themselves they would relapse into barbarism. No people can lift itself unaided from a lower to a higher level of civilization. It is a social as well as a physical impossibility to uplift one's self by pulling against one's boot-straps. If the moral sense of the American people would not leave the distant Filipino to his pitiable fate, but impelled them to reach out a saving hand across the seas and snatch him within the ennobling circle of benevolent assimilation, how much more incumbent is it to elevate the negro who is within our gates, and is closely associated with our national destiny? It is incumbent upon philanthropy and statesmanship, alike, to devise and apply uplifting agencies so that the dark places of the South may not become a menace to the welfare of the nation.

KELLY MILLER.

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THE NEED OF TRAINING FOR THE COLLEGE PRESIDENCY.

SIX years ago, when I was a professor of Greek in a New England college, it seemed to me that the president led a very easy life. He received nearly twice the salary of a professor and did scarcely any teaching; and his brow told nothing of the care within. When I finally made up my mind to accept an executive position in the West, this president's wife, who had always been a very kind friend, said: "You don't know what you are undertaking. It's a dog's life."

While the latter statement was not intended to be taken literally, and has to a certain extent proved a false prediction, it is not difficult now for me to realize what was meant. My only regret, however, is that I entered on the work of administration so poorly prepared, and that it has taken so long to learn comparatively little. Possibly, if I had been taken aside by my president and told how to avoid the snares and solve the problems that would come, I should not have been altogether too conceited to listen; but this may be doubted. At any rate, when one thinks of all the difficulties of a college executive, it is a matter for surprise that no training or advice for so important a work has yet been offered. It may be interesting to review our present educational tendencies, and inquire why such provision has not been made.

The present is an era of specialties. That sounds rather trite, but it is a truth the full significance of which we sometimes fail to realize. In the college world especially, a jack-of-all-trades was never so distrusted as at present. A college teacher to-day must have studied one subject thoroughly, although, as it has been often pointed out, his general knowledge need not be limited. As a university president, I receive every year applications enough to fill each position in the institution fifty times over. An effort is made to give each letter careful examination and polite treatment, but there is one style of letter that is very trying. It comes from the man who states that his specialties are Greek, Latin, French, and German; that he can teach mathematics and chemistry; and that he feels that he would be successful with history and philosophy. It is difficult to reply courteously to such a man, as it is evident

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that he either is a humbug or has little conception of the quality of work now done in a university.

A college graduate who wishes thoroughly to prepare himself for college teaching may do so in any one of a dozen superior universities at a merely nominal cost. He is not really in earnest unless he is willing to do this. He may make a special study of any portion of the entire field of knowledge, from Sanskrit to entomology, from electricity to paleontology, and from the culture of the soil to the physics of the celestial bodies. There is open to him a complete preparation for every possible specialty save one, the executive office. But should he choose this line, which, because of its relation to the rest, is in a sense the most important of all, he must become skilled as best he can. The tyro at the bar practises in a moot court before he addresses a real jury; the young divine bores his classmates with his preaching ere he edifies a congregation; the embryo doctor may first try his scalpel on a cadaver; and even the school teacher acquires her skill in a training school; but the poor young college president, without a particle of specific preparation, is pushed out into the midst of things, and must stand or fall by the result. For him there is no training school except actual practice, and he must use his scalpel on real life. Fortunate, indeed, is the youthful president who is permitted to make his experiments in a small institution, or among people who are more kind than critical.

Why, then, has no provision as yet been made for educating young men for executive work in our colleges? Probably many reasons will suggest themselves. Two may be briefly outlined. In the first place, there is a conventional modesty which would operate powerfully to deter a young man from publicly enrolling himself for the necessary training to become a college president. He may, with entire propriety, it seems, seek to prepare for a chair of German or astronomy; but any effort to fit himself for a presidency is viewed as a mark of inordinate ambition. A distinguished scholar who had been elected president of a university once stated that he had never sought the headship of an institution of higher learning, and would not think of accepting an offer of such a post unless the conditions were most favorable. Those, however, who had followed this gentleman's career reported that for several years previously he had been doing everything in his power to fit himself properly for executive duties. In view of our foolish conception of modesty, it is easy to pardon his want of candor, especially as the careful training he had given himself resulted in his making a great success of administrative work.

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An instance of a different method of procedure was presented two years ago to the regents of the University of Washington. They received a letter from a young man, about to complete his course at a certain theological seminary, who stated that he had met with considerable success as a teacher and as administrative head of a preparatory school, and would be glad, if the regents saw fit to dispense with the present executive, to become president in his stead. The regents referred the letter for an answer to the writer of this article. At first he was tempted to send a somewhat caustic letter in reply; but the more the matter was considered, the more it seemed that, despite the shocking abuse of professional courtesy, the young man deserved some commendation for his courage in asking for what he wanted, and for preparing himself properly for the object of his ambition.

Again, it is probably the opinion of many that college administration cannot be taught, because it is so far from being an exact science. Its problems seem isolated, and they vary greatly under different conditions. But, while the theory of administration can hardly be said to be exact in the same sense as the science of mathematics, an executive of experience could teach a novice some general principles that would save him many sleepless nights and days of worry and failure. It may be well in some matters to let a man work out his own salvation; but such a course is hardly profitable for the young executive, and is certainly not fraught with the best results for the unfortunate professors and students under his direction.

Probably the newness of the present type of college president accounts in part for the prevalent feeling that administration is not yet an established science.[1] It is a familiar fact in the history of American education that through the first third of the century we have just passed a clergyman was regarded as the ideal college president. The essential aim of a college course was preparation for the ministry, or, at the widest, the development of character. These objects, it was conceived, belonged peculiarly to the church; and it was not unfitting, therefore, that ministers should be at the head of institutions of learning. So we find in this first period such presidents as Increase Mather and Jared Sparks, of Harvard; Timothy Dwight, the elder, of Yale; and at Union, Eliphalet Nott, whose power for righteousness was so great that it has been said that "he took the sweepings of other colleges and sent them back into society pure gold."

[1] A more complete discussion of this evolution of the college president will be found in President Thwing's "College Administration," chapter iii.

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But a college education was eventually demanded by young men preparing for every sort of profession, and so academic training came into the category of scholarship rather than of theology. This fact was reflected in a generation of college presidents who were preëminently scholars, and ministers only secondarily, if at all. Within this middle epoch flourished Woolsey and Porter at Yale, Felton at Harvard, and McCosh at Princeton. Williams also during this period contributed to history the president who was so saturated with aggressive scholarship that Garfield claimed that it could exude and permeate the farther end of the log.

This type of executive, however, did not continue quite half a century. With the inauguration of President Eliot, in 1869, the present ideal of a college president began to develop. From action and reaction among the colleges it has now become a fixed type. A college president, according to this latest ideal, is an executive in the fullest sense of the word. Though in entire sympathy with education, he is a business man and a broad-minded man of affairs, with the gift of diplomacy and the alertness and poise of an *entrepreneur*. He may be a scholar — and very often is — or even a minister; but these qualities are merely incidental and have little to do with his success as an administrator. The "executive" president is at present the latest and best type, and in developing our science of administration we may safely follow his lead.

It may not be out of place to speak in this connection of the field now offered to young men by executive work. A few years ago, when one of the classes was about to graduate from the Harvard Law School, an eminent New York lawyer, in a spirit of humor, said to its members: "It may be that some of you young men think that you are going to pursue the practice of law in the city of New York. I want to inform you that all the law has been *pursued* off Manhattan Island." Such an idea could not be truthfully expressed with regard to the opportunities presented to-day by the college presidency. There are always more openings than there are men competent to fill them. A list of colleges published in an almanac for 1899 revealed the fact that nearly forty colleges were then without executives, and among them were such institutions as Yale, Amherst, Oberlin, Marietta, Brown, Colgate, Rochester, California, Oregon, Iowa, and Cincinnati. During the college year just passed, the presidencies of Northwestern, Wells, Iowa College, Williams, Pacific, West Virginia, Maine, and other institutions, have all been vacant.

This constant demand for college presidents is easily explained by

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the scarcity of men fitted for such positions. An inspection of the careers of the faculty of the University of Chicago, as given in the catalogue, shows that about twenty members of it have at some time been college executives and have resigned the post. It is easy to recall instances of men standing high in the world of scholarship who failed in the executive office, or who found the work distasteful and had the good sense to return to the places which they adorned. Two of the greatest scientists in the United States attempted university management for a considerable time before they decided that executive work was not their forte; while one of our most noted Hebrew scholars, who took up administration, and a college president who had previously made a reputation as a Hellenist were both ultimately forced to resign the presidential work they had undertaken.

On the other hand, it has sometimes been difficult to induce well-qualified men to accept the executive office. Professor Bessey, whose fame as a botanist is not confined to this country, has thrice refused the chancellorship of the University of Nebraska, although not for the same reason that influenced Cæsar in a similar matter. "No, gentlemen," he has repeatedly said to his regents, "I am a botanist, and I cannot be tied down to an executive's desk at my time of life." An educator of great prominence who is still a professor at Columbia, but who is believed by many to possess extraordinary executive ability, is said to have already seventeen presidential scalps on his belt. The merest accident brought David Starr Jordan into executive work, quite against his will. That was more than sixteen years ago. When he was once in the position his fitness was so evident that neither he nor the regents wished for a change.

There is surely a wide opening for any young man of ability who wishes to enter upon an administrative career. He must, however, expect to find many disagreeable features in the work. There is no need to mention all of them, but they may be summed up under the heads of constant worry and the sacrifice of scholarship. Yet executive work may be well considered a species of scholarship in itself, and the cares and worries of the office should be met with as philosophic a spirit as possible. Mr. Booker T. Washington tells us that he comes to his desk each morning hoping for a prosperous and happy day, but is fully prepared to hear that something unpleasant has happened — that one of the buildings has burned, or that a newspaper has abused him for something he has not done, or criticised him for saying something that most likely never entered his head. That readiness to meet everything that may

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come should be the spirit of every young college president; and he may at the same time remember, with pardonable pride, that, by the character of his work, he is keeping himself out of many of the narrownesses of ordinary scholarship, and is doing a real service for humanity.

Certainly, there is nowhere a field of greater usefulness and honor than the college presidency for a young man of the right scholarship, sympathy, tact, energy, and courage. While all the qualities enumerated must be possessed to some degree, they are here mentioned inversely to the order of their importance. The young executive may lack much in scholarship and sympathy, and even a little in tact, but he cannot possibly succeed without energy and courage, especially the latter.

The means for starting such able and ambitious young men aright and insuring the efficiency and success of their administrative work must be soon forthcoming at some of our large universities. Methods of training may have to be developed slowly, but it is time for a beginning to be made. A popular magazine contained about four years ago an educational article by the editor, in which he suggested that two very important subjects were omitted from the modern college curriculum, and recommended the establishment of chairs in the sciences of choosing a profession and selecting a life partner. These are admitted to be two very important subjects; but it was quite generally urged in criticism that the gentleman in question was inclined to make too much of them, and that each topic could be satisfactorily treated in a course of lectures. If, in like manner, to demand a chair in college administration would seem to magnify the matter, it certainly will be admitted that something should be done in that line. The future executive should at least take as broad a course as possible, specializing on some subject of large import, such as a branch of the social or philosophic sciences, and in addition should have the benefit of a practical course of lectures from a successful and experienced president. What the subject and purpose of each lecture should be is an important consideration, which would require a more detailed discussion than the limits of the present article will allow.

It is rumored that next year President Wheeler, at the University of California, will institute a course of lectures on college administration, and that Dr. Harper intends eventually to establish a chair in the subject at the University of Chicago. Speed the day! Meanwhile there is a perfect caravan of young college presidents going and coming from Cambridge, where for a short time they may sit at the feet of the great executive president, Charles W. Eliot.

FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES.

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HOW TO ASSIMILATE THE FOREIGN ELEMENT IN OUR POPULATION.

No other subject in the larger politics of modern times deserves more earnest attention than the problem of assimilating the foreign element in our population. Unless an intelligent effort is made for the protection of our national ideals, the United States will be in a fair way to become un-Americanized; and sooner or later the question will become not how we may assimilate the foreign element, but how we may discern traces of our original government and institutional spirit. The native population in some parts of our country to-day is practically saturated by the foreign element, and no more of that element can be absorbed under existing conditions without a dangerous precipitation.

Certain well-meaning social scientists, with this fact staring them in the face, are exerting themselves to restrict immigration. But those who clamor for such an interdict have better intentions than information; for, with the positivism born of a scanty supply of sociological facts, they ignore the possibility of immigration being regulated by natural laws. As surely as a vacuum invites air, the unique natural and industrial advantages of the United States attract the oppressed and impoverished of all other countries. From the humanitarian standpoint — the only right, safe, and never-changing view — this is without qualification fortunate for the ultimate improvement of man. It would, indeed, be supreme presumption for any little body of people, especially happy in earthly blessings, to prevent those in need from obtaining a share of these plentiful gifts. We must not forget that America as a nation was founded by foreign elements. The hardy pioneer spirit of our sturdy forefathers was the direct outcome of unfavorable European conditions. Increased heterogeneity was the principal cause of America's progress. The first influx was fed by a score of pure streams, diverse in origin, yet united in destiny, and in that strongest of all bonds — hope. The diversity of the original colonies persisted even up to 1789, when a common language and a common purpose united them all into one nation.

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How strange it is that the causes leading to unity of feeling, harmony, and unswerving loyalty in the life of nations have all been of such a variable nature! In ancient times the love of country was vague. Teucer cheerfully told his companions that wherever he fared well there was his home. "Ubi bene, ibi patria." Later in the history of the world we learn that it was religious belief that formed the bond. As long as the Visigoths in Spain and the Ostrogoths in Italy remained faithful adherents of the doctrines of Arius, and at the same time the great body of their Roman subjects were thorough believers in the doctrines of Athanasius, there could be little unity on the part of the conquerors and the conquered; but when the rulers changed their creed to that held by their subjects, the two peoples became amalgamated, and the country was united into one nation. In course of time the question of creed gave way to that of race. Race remained a factor, and is a factor yet, but, in the case of men of the same color, only when there continues to be a difference in language. This feeling of a common race and nationality based on language became pronounced about the middle of the nineteenth century, and betrayed itself first in Austria, especially in Bohemia, where the Slav objected to German supremacy, and in Belgium, where the Flemish opposed French rule.

It seems now that language and all the customs, habits, and traditions that spring from it form the only cohesive power that assimilates a people. When the question arose in the Pennsylvania State Legislature whether English or German should be the official language of that commonwealth, it was a German who cast the deciding vote in favor of English. This was not because he loved German less, but because he recognized the fact that in an English-speaking country — in his case the country of his choice and not of his birth — it was surely the duty of the foreign-born citizen to do all in his power to secure and maintain the institutions which had given him freedom and a home.

In the United States the condition of affairs is peculiar. No European country offers a parallel. Austria, it is true, like our own country, consists of a conglomeration of various nationalities: the German throughout the realm, the Hungarian in the south, and the Slav in the east, north, and west. Yet the bond that holds it together as a nation is so weak that it seems to be only a question of time when that old domain will fall to pieces; a part to go to Russia, a part to Germany, and a part to become the new Hungary. There is Switzerland also, with its German, French, and Italian constituents of the population, all at variance with one another, but held together — partly by jealousy of the

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so-called great powers and partly by democratic institutions — in such a way that neither monarchical Germany, Austria, and Italy, nor republican France has so far impaired the bond. The other European countries, with great skill, much tact, and unremitting zeal, have in past decades succeeded in assimilating the foreign elements within their borders, or are on the way to accomplish that end. In Germany, for example, the Danish element in the North and the Polish in the East are rapidly diminishing in numbers as such. How well the Teuton has succeeded in Germanizing the French-speaking population of Alsace-Lorraine has been sufficiently shown by the result of the last Reichstag elections.

Yet in all these countries the danger menacing the state is comparatively but a small one. With them immigration is not large, while with us the foreign population is so immense as to hold the balance of power in any election. Of the total of males of the voting age in this country, numbering about 17,000,000, the foreign-born reach the astonishing figure of 5,000,000. The danger of their influence will be realized when it is noted that they are so concentrated that in the North Atlantic, North Central, and Western States, there is but a small margin in favor of the native-born population. In addition to foreign citizens we have now 1,500,000 aliens, twenty-five per cent of whom are unable to speak the English language. With allegiance still due to other powers, these people would form, to put it optimistically, a distinctly uncomfortable military possibility in case of any international disagreement. Italy, Germany, and Russia, it must be remembered, do not relinquish their military claims upon their subjects even in cases of expatriation.

Moreover, while formerly those who landed on our shores came for the most part from peoples akin to us — the Irish, English, Scotch, Germans, and Scandinavians — and were bent upon agriculture and eager to settle upon the unoccupied parts of the public domain, those who now come are from the Romance countries, from the farthest east and southeast of Europe, from Asia, and from Africa; that is to say, from nations totally unlike ours. These strangers as a rule scorn to till the soil. Factories, mines, and vocations that demand nothing but unskilled labor attract their attention. The push-cart and other forms of bartering goods have a fascination for many, and the small trades that can be entered upon with little or no capital afford the means of livelihood to the rest. Whereas in the past the immigrants were absorbed in our agricultural communities, and became in a short time a part of the body

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politic, now they cluster in the large cities, where can be found a Little Italy, a Little Russia, a Little Poland, a Little Turkey, etc., in which the mother tongue is carefully preserved, the English language is ignored, the institutions of the home country are revered, and American habits are despised.

In these altered conditions it is not reasonable to suppose that a foreigner can become an American citizen simply by landing or merely residing in the country and waiting the number of years required by law. By an abuse of our method of naturalization the immigrant often obtains the power to influence our most precious and sacred institutions for the worse. Almost at once he is given power in our body politic. According to the law, two years before they can be admitted to citizenship aliens must take an oath of their intention to become citizens. They must renounce allegiance to other powers; must agree to support the Constitution; must have resided in the United States continuously for five years, and in the State where they take oath for one year; and they must satisfy the Court before which they appear that they are of good moral character. Yet these restrictions are often disregarded in densely populated districts — as can be made clear, to any one interested, by a cursory examination of the illegalities tolerated during the few months preceding election.

The past can throw some light on the present. In Europe, in mediæval times, the political and social dangers of alien influence were so keenly realized that community interest rendered migration itself a cause for suspicion. The stranger was sometimes fined and often made a dependent. The people to whom he came felt themselves likely to be reproached by the people from whom he came; for monarchs did not favor the loss of military strength resulting from migration. The stranger was disliked in England as late as the end of the eighteenth century. He was considered a commercial rival, as the Navigation Acts of Cromwell and Charles II bear witness. The English Statutes of Laborers once made it impossible to migrate even from one parish to another; and Germany went so far as to refuse admittance except to those having independent means or legitimate business. Even now Russia gives no immunity of travel or permanent residence, Germany demands passports, and France requires police registration. In fact, all European countries restrict or forbid immigration. But individual interest, as symbolized in the French Revolutionary period, proclaimed to the world the principle of personal freedom. National and international concerns absorbed petty provincial interests. Machinery supplanted

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guilds and apprenticeships. Migration became an inalienable right. A faint prophecy of cosmopolitan humanitarianism affected the thoughts of men, and universal brotherhood became their desire.

Yet no one can deny the disintegrating influence of a commingling of our civilization with that of an inferior class of immigrants. The average culture of the world cannot be raised at a touch. Nor can a homogeneous nation result without the blending power of time and effort. The internal consolidation of the German nation is the greatest modern work of practical politics. Unification is the supreme plan of the greatest minds, as illustrated by our own motto, "E pluribus unum." Now, as never before, does it need to be our watchword, our pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. The solidarity of our government is absolutely necessary to our efficiency as an aid in moral progress. It has proved true in the case of all older civilizations, whose falterings and failures may serve as danger lights for us. The adage of the Revolutionary period might well hold good for all time: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Now that we have become a nation in every sense of the word, how can we preserve our nationality and at the same time be true to that broad, liberal spirit which attracted our fathers to this land? The fusion of the diverse elements of our population into one common nationality cannot be attained by saying: "You are an American. You have passed the forms of naturalization. Vote!" No; the security of the perpetuity of our Government is based upon a higher, broader, and more effective principle, that of a responsible and intelligent use of the franchise. Is any one worthy to cast a ballot that he cannot read, explain, and defend? Surely we should regard the gift of the high estate of citizenship as a most sacred blessing, to be won, at least, by the testimony of earnest desire. In the five years nominally required for the process of naturalization, any foreigner of sufficient intelligence to be worthy the honor of American citizenship should be able to master enough of our language to read intelligently the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence. No one could demand less of a prospective maker of laws than that he should be cognizant of the underlying principles of our Government. The influences under which the foreigner would come in his pursuit of even this slight amount of knowledge would be an infinite aid in his assimilation; and in this direct contact with the formulas of the rights of men he would inevitably absorb some of the true principles of liberty and equality.

It would, perhaps, be useless to attempt to assimilate all the stran-

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gers that enter our gates. People who have reached a certain age, varying in the case of different individuals, have become crystallized in their ideas to a certain degree. They love the land from which they have come. Perhaps they have simply followed their children here. They live in the past. The only way in which they can possibly be reached is through their children, by means of the new ideas that the children have conceived and carried home. These people form, as a whole, an unassimilable element wherever they congregate. Probably the best that can be done with these, who are of the first generation, is to render them harmless by a kind of parental care, and by directing their energies into useful lines of industry that will lead to their general prosperity and consequent contentment. The dignity of honest labor will in time make them conscious of being integral parts of society; and a property interest will promote allegiance, prevent anarchy, and insure political assimilation.

But the younger generation and their descendants can be reached. Their eyes are clear, their tongues are flexible and willing, and their purposes are strong and fixed. At the present time illiteracy in the native-born American is decreasing, while in the foreign-born it is increasing — a practically unavoidable condition because of the great proportion of ignorant adult immigration. This tends naturally to correction in the second generation, but the unfortunate influence is still traceable. Yet the measure of raw material has this encouraging showing: compared with the 900,000 of the foreign born element of school age, there are 12,400,000 of the second generation of school age. In Massachusetts alone twenty per cent of illiteracy in the foreign-born is offset by one per cent in the native-born: showing the immediate effect of our schools on the children of a deplorably ignorant class of newcomers.

Education will solve every problem of our national life, even that of assimilating our foreign element. The ameliorating effects of general education would be evident in a decade in every manifestation of social life. Knowledge is light, and evil dies in the light. Ignorance is the mother of anarchy, poverty, and crime. The nation has a right to demand intelligence and virtue of every citizen, and to obtain these by force if necessary. Compulsory education we must have as a safeguard for our institutions. What other element of our country's progress is so important? In the language of the principles set forth by the National Educational Association, let me say that the progress and happiness of a people are in direct ratio to the universality of education. A free

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people must be developed by free schools. History records that the stability of a nation depends upon the virtue and intelligence of the individuals composing it. The child has the same right to be protected by law from ignorance as from abuse, neglect, or hunger.

We have said that the younger generation of immigrants can be reached by education. But this education must be compulsory. For, while these people are usually thrifty they are often lacking in foresight; and the manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the telegraph company, and many others that employ help offer a thousand inducements here to the boy and girl to earn a dollar, even if it be at the risk of losing a chance of going to school. It is a strange fact that some of the foreigners whose country is known for the general, thorough education which it bestows upon all its children are those who are most inclined to reject all the inducements of our public-school system, and to allow, nay to urge, their children to stay away from school, that they may earn money at an age when they ought to be interested in books. And yet compulsory education in this country is to a great extent a far easier matter than it proves to be in European countries — no tuition fees; in many places free books and school supplies; all people treated alike; no distinction between the masses and the classes.

What does compulsory education carry with it? (1) The pupil's very association with intellectual and honorable men and women tends to inspire toward higher standards of living. The children soon find themselves in wider horizons of thought. (2) It brings children of all ranks together. They all feel that they belong to one and the same great family or nation. (3) It enables them to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, not the slangy English of the street, but good, idiomatic, grammatical English. (4) It gives the child an opportunity to get a knowledge of the country in which he lives, of the government under which he exists, and of the people of whom he is to be a part. He learns that while he needs the country, the country needs him too; that he is to be a sovereign limited in his powers by such laws only as he himself may help to create, and by such restrictions as modern civilization places upon him as being, upon the whole, for the good of all; that there is no one below him, and no one above him except those whom he may some day help to elect to attend to the business which his country demands.

We might be justified in diverging at this point a little from the main topic to show why a common language is such an important factor in giving to a people a feeling of kinship. Travellers who come in

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contact with people of a foreign tongue know with what suspicion, distrust, or awe any one is regarded who speaks a language other than that indigenous to the land in which he travels. In our own country we can see the same inclination. People shrink from the stranger and his strange speech. It is said that European housemaids, when required to attend foreign guests, despise and scorn their foreign ways of acting, as much as American laborers look down upon Hungarian or Italian workmen. They do not understand one another. Mutual misunderstanding begets mutual dislike, which in turn produces hatred and distrust, thus preventing assimilation. The uneducated foreigner who lands upon our shores brings with him the fears and prejudices of his native land. Give him the English education of which he is in need, and he will be able to understand what is said to him and what is expected of him. Encourage him; make him feel that this is his home; and he will become a loyal citizen. All this can be done through the public schools.

To imagine that all foreigners, or even a large proportion of them, are anarchists is absurd. Anarchy is world-wide. It has no home to cherish, no permanent abode. It is an attempt to return to barbarism. The anarchist wants freedom only to abuse it, while the average immigrant longs for freedom in order to be free. Man in general wishes for liberty, and needs it; but he knows that it has its bounds. On a deserted isle he might do as he pleased. In a civilized country law must be observed. Law is not only a restriction but a benefit as well.

To sum up, compulsory education will give to the foreigner a chance of obtaining a thorough understanding of the English language; a fair knowledge of our government, and of the means of governing himself; and last, but not least, it will make him feel that he is the peer of all if he conducts himself as a true American citizen. The city of New York provides educational facilities not only for pupils who come within the age required by the compulsory educational law, but also for people of any age. It has its primary schools, its grammar schools, its high schools, its City College for boys, and its Normal College for girls; and, besides, it has its Training School for teachers, its junior and senior evening schools, its evening high school, etc. And within this system it exerts a necessary paternalism; furnishing text-books and material without which education would be inaccessible to the masses. It lays special stress upon the teaching of the English language and of the nature of our institutions. So the schools become the real safeguards of national life. Without its free public schools New York would be helpless in dealing with its hundreds of thousands of foreign population. This

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process of regeneration is slow; as slow, really, as the education of the young and the ignorant. It is possibly still imperfect, but I am convinced that it is the way. The results attained by the public schools in bringing the various elements of our population into such pleasant relations as to make them easily assimilable are so apparent in New York and in other cities and places where compulsory education is demanded by law, that I am forced to the conclusion that the most efficient, persistent, and constant power of assimilation in America is the free public school under a well-devised compulsory education law.

"America for Americans" is not an unjust demand. But is our inheritance so limited, is our hospitality so lacking, is our love of freedom so destitute of vigor that it is necessary to place an insurmountable barrier between the immigrant and our shores? Should we not be more in accord with the spirit of our forefathers, if industry and intelligence are to receive open-armed welcome? St. Ambrose said: "When I am at Rome, I do as they do at Rome." And we should be entirely justified if we were to say to the incoming alien when he arrives: "Thou shalt do as we do; in our land our language shall be thy language; our customs shall be thy customs."

JOHN T. BUCHANAN.

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THE YOUNG MAN WITH NOTHING BUT BRAINS.

WHAT are the chances for the young man "with nothing but brains"? Forty years ago no one would have thought of asking such a question. Why should any one ask it now? Is not the market for brains just as great at the opening of the twentieth century? Many will contend that the demand for brains and the market price for them have been immeasurably enhanced by our marvellous industrial development. Others declare with equal persistence that the young man with nothing but brains has no chance at all in this age of combinations. They note with apprehension the tendency of all business activity toward centralization. It is an age of trusts, in which manufacturing and commercial enterprises are conducted upon a colossal scale and the young man is crowded out.

Let us see about that. It strikes me that the young man with nothing but brains has an immense advantage over the young man with nothing but money. The young man who inherits a fortune in these times receives a legacy of trouble and worry unless it is securely invested against business hazards. It will put gray hairs on his head. The chances are that he has not had the training that would qualify him to handle it without losing it. He has been chasing the Greek verb or the "pig-skin" at college while his father has been running the business. His poor cranium is doubtless full of the classics; but he knows no more about his father's business than his father knows about the Odes of Horace.

The late Philip D. Armour once told me that he did not give his sons a dollar's worth of stock in his immense business until they had satisfied him that they could "make sausage." This was the great packer's homely way of saying that he did not take his sons into the firm until they had shown business capacity and industry. But not many rich men in this country follow the example set by the founder of the great house of Armour. The young man with nothing but brains has nothing to lose. What to do with a patrimony of $100,000 does not bother him or keep him awake at night. The young man with

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$100,000 will soon realize that this is too small a sum to risk in business in an age of combines, when all productive and mercantile enterprises are conducted upon a scale of great magnitude. Manufacturing is certainly out of the question; and if he wants to embark in a mercantile pursuit he must go to a small town that is not yet invaded by a mammoth department store selling everything from a tack-hammer to "store teeth."

But the young man with nothing but brains is not confronted by such perplexities. There is no "trust" in brains. It may be possible to corner the wheat crop or control the yearly output of corn starch; but you cannot corner the crop of ideas. If the young man looks about him and studies the situation, he will quickly learn that the age of combinations is also the age of brains.

It is true that the learned professions, such as law, medicine, and theology, are open to him; but these are overcrowded. There are not enough patients to go around. Mankind has not lost faith in the efficacy of medicine, but it knows better how to live than it did fifty years ago. It does not need so much medicine. Sanitation and a more general observance of the laws of hygiene are crowding the disciples of Esculapius to the wall. As for law, the legislatures of the different States cannot grind out enough ambiguous statutes to keep the lawyers busy. The few laws now put upon the statute books are so clear and lucid that the ambitious young attorney has no chance whatever. Moreover, the tendency of the people is away from litigation. Men are more inclined to settle their differences out of court. In fact, these differences become such a costly luxury when entrusted to lawyers that most men are willing to drop them and forget them where the financial sacrifice is not great. In Chicago most lawyers are unable to make a living by confining themselves strictly to the practice of law. Again, there is less demand for theologians. The people are coming to regard theology as a man-made substitute for simple, practical Christianity; a heritage of profound thinking and scholarship, it is true, but too deep for the common understanding. There is more practical, every-day Christianity than there ever was, but less theology.

Journalism, of the kind that does not completely efface the writer's personality and that encourages individuality of style and freedom of utterance, still offers an attractive field for the young man with nothing but brains. The growing ascendancy of the counting-room and the tendency toward impersonal and irresponsible journalism, however, cannot fail to drive young men of force and talent from the editorial to the

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commercial end of this pursuit. The journalism of the future must be a journalism in which the public may connect the statements of editors and reporters with some personality that stands for knowledge and common honesty. No other kind of journalism will attract the serious attention of ambitious men.

The federal service certainly offers no attractions to the young man with nothing but brains. Perhaps in no other department of human activity can there be found such amazing mediocrity and inefficiency as here. Character and brains count for nothing. An educated applicant for a federal position may deluge the departments at Washington with "letters of endorsement" from hundreds of men who stand high in the world of business and politics; but the letters are filed away in the archives of the department "for reference," while the place that is sought is given to some obscure nonentity, who has not bothered his poor brain about endorsements, in order to reward the friend of a politician with a "pull," or to carry out a deal arranged by the bosses.

Literary and clerical pursuits are being rapidly invaded by women. The time is past when a desk-man can hope to earn enough salary to support a family. In fact, desk-work of the purely clerical or routine kind can no longer satisfy the man of energy and ambition. He is conscious of occupying an inferior position in life — one that can be easily filled by a woman, and that will be filled by a woman as soon as a favorable opportunity to make the change presents itself to his employer.

It ought to be very plain, it seems to me, that the greatest opportunity for the young man with nothing but brains lies in fitting himself for an important place in the great distributing machinery brought into existence by the era of combines. He must contribute something to the twentieth-century crop of ideas. The era of expansion which the politicians are talking about carries with it an expansion of the market for ideas, an expansion beyond the dreams of the generations of yesterday. It is to be a battle of ideas; and the man who has none will have to "go way back and sit down" with the typewriter girl, or the telegraph operator, or some one else who does nothing but handle other people's ideas. The man with ideas will occupy the centre of the stage, and the lime-light of public interest and thought will be turned upon him more than ever before in our history.

For what are the objects of industrial combination? To cheapen the cost of production and distribution. The most perfect labor-saving machinery and the purchase of raw materials in great quantities, both of which are secured by the consolidation of capital and resources, tend to

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accomplish the first object — that of cheapening production. The young man with brains will not want to be a part of the machinery of production. He will not want to feed a tack machine or carry bobbins in a knitting factory. If he is of a mechanical turn of mind, and the public-school system has not entirely smothered or crushed out his inventive faculties, he may contribute some of the labor-saving machinery to production; but he himself will never be a part of the machinery of production. It is the department of distribution that will engage the energy and thought of the young man with nothing but brains. This is the branch of industry that takes the product of a plant and finds a market for it; that brings it to the attention of people who need it, or want it, or think they want it. It is this machinery of distribution that converts the product of industry into coin. Without it the wheels of the factory would stop, and there would be industrial stagnation.

The other primary object of combination is to cheapen the cost of distribution. Costly and out-of-date methods of putting goods upon the market and finding purchasers for them are being abandoned. The most expensive wheel in the machinery of distribution and the first to be discarded has been the "drummer." In certain lines of production he is still employed to some extent; but it is a self-evident economic proposition that the consolidation of small plants into larger ones must cut into the ranks of the great army of travelling trade solicitors, and that if the tendency toward concentration in all lines continues the drummer will soon be as extinct as the dodo. He is a relic of the days of wasteful competition. His hotel bills, railway fares, and the other incidentals of a peripatetic vocation must be added to the cost of the goods, and paid in the end by the consumer. There sometimes have been four or five drummers in the same little hotel, in the same little town, on the same day, each adding to the cost price of the goods sold to the local merchants. Under the new system the producer will talk to thousands at a time instead of employing a drummer to talk to each person individually. How is he going to do it? Through the printed catalogue, the artistic booklet, the attractive poster, the pages of the magazines and weekly periodicals, the columns of the daily press, and the thousands of ingenious and unique devices for catching the public eye, designed by the brightest and cleverest minds in this country.

Who will furnish the ideas for this new and vast twentieth-century system of publicity? Surely here is the golden harvest for the young man with nothing but brains. Here is a field for any one with original ideas. It is no place for a mere copyist, a mere thinker of thoughts

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that were thought by others long ago. No compiler, collator, or purveyor of other people's ideas can participate in this contest. The competition is keen and strenuous. The producer who is investing a million in advertising will scent a mildewed idea from afar. He will have none of it. What he buys must drop clean-milled, new, and bright from the mint of genius. It must have the ring of the pure metal, with no "dull thud" business about it. A man might make the finest soap and the best starch on earth; but if the people are not willing to be soaped with that particular soap or starched with that particular starch, what profit is there in it to the producer?

It is true that the profession of advertising has always engaged the talent and energy of some of the brightest minds in the land; but the work of the past-masters in publicity will seem small and commonplace compared with what will be demanded by the era of industrial combination and trade expansion upon which we are now entering. Thousands of "good things" are slumbering in the intellects of men — mechanical inventions, chemical compounds, toys for children, foods for invalids, remedies for diseases, appliances for contributing to the luxuries and comforts of life. Who is the alchemist that can transmute them into gold? The man who can merely write a good magazine or newspaper advertisement will not answer the purpose. It calls for a genius who can originate and work out the entire publicity scheme.

Humanity will wear more shoes and farmers will use more wagons in 1902 than ever before in the history of the race; but the man who has a million invested in the manufacture of shoes or wagons can do little in the coming years without the genius of publicity. He must call to his aid the men of ideas, men who are masters of the art of presenting forcefully and effectively to the millions of consumers the merits of a particular commodity. The genius of the artist, the printer, the photographer, and the writer will be laid under tribute to this twentieth-century profession of publicity. More than ever before will it engage the thought and energy of men of talent and education. The time will come when the devising of an original, skilful, and successful plan for launching a new commodity upon the market will command a fee that would now appear incredible. Here is the golden opportunity offered by twentieth-century industrial evolution and expansion to "the young man with nothing but brains."

TRUMAN A. DE WEESE.

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WANTED — AN OPPOSITION.

In his famous address, "On Conciliation with America," Burke declared: "A great empire and little minds go ill together." The political opponents of Burke doubtless retorted that *his* was the little mind, and confidently asserted that the adoption of the policy of conciliation he advocated would mean loss and humiliation to the British Empire. Posterity, however, has formed a different opinion. In the clear light of after events, we of to-day see that Burke was right, and that his opponents — the majority — were wrong. We now know that, thanks to a foolish and arrogant policy of narrow-minded ministers and an obstinate King, the British Empire lost what at the present time would have been the largest and fairest gem in her imperial crown. But the majority in Parliament failed to see this when Burke, Chatham, Barré, and the few other members of the small, but fearless, minority were pleading for conciliation, and uttering direful prophecies that were, alas, to be fulfilled.

Eighty years later the warning voice of John Bright sounded almost alone in denunciation of the policy that was hurrying the country into war with Russia in behalf of the unspeakable Turk. Again the minority in Parliament — a hopeless one at the time — was right. Again it was proved that *vox populi* is not always *vox Dei;* and it was left for a subsequent premier of the very party that had denounced as "traitors" those who opposed its war policy, to admit sadly that "we put our money on the wrong horse" in the matter of the Crimean War.

It has been said that "history is only past politics, and present politics are future history." If such be the case, the politics of to-day will furnish a fruitful field for the future historian.

To the thoughtful man, even though he be no deep student of history, the present situation of things in regard to South Africa offers many striking points of analogy with the two instances from the past mentioned above. Will the outcome be the same? Will the future historian have to record that South Africa also was lost to the British Empire because of the same fatuous levity and indifference, the same crass ignorance, the same stupid severities of arrogant and misguided minis-

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ters? Or, though chronicling a victory for British arms, will it be as costly and barren a triumph as that won at Bunker Hill, or in the Crimea? The future will tell. What that verdict shall then be, we of to-day are determining now.

After twenty-seven months of fighting in South Africa, what is the actual situation confronting us there at the present moment? We need go no further than the recent speeches of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Brodrick to get an answer that should cause even "the man in the street" to pause and consider. According to the Secretary for War, in a recent speech, we find that after all these weary months, after all the terrible cost in money and in blood, after all the specious assurances that "the war is over," British arms are to-day supreme in only one-eighth of the Transvaal, and in less than one-third of the Orange Free State! The regularly appointed governments of the two Republics — incorrectly called ex-Republics, for *de facto* governments still exist — are uncaptured, and continue to exercise jurisdiction; their daring commandants apparently move in whatever direction they choose, while the end of the war none can foresee. There have been many official predictions, but all these have been contradicted by the course of events. Could more damaging proof be given of the woful ineptitude, the hopeless lack of diplomacy and statesmanship, the culpable levity and self-complacency of the present Government? Proclamations, farm-burnings, banishment, confiscations, hangings, floggings, and concentration camps have all been tried, and tried in vain. Such measures — with the exception of the concentration camps and banishment — were also employed without success in the war with the American colonies. They had the same effect on the Americans that they have had on the Boers, simply stiffening the resistance of the people, and breeding a hatred that has not yet wholly died out.

The only measures to end the war and bring about a lasting peace, namely, conciliation and generous terms, have been the very measures omitted. It is meaningless buncombe to assert, as has been asserted, that "the most generous terms ever offered to a beaten foe" have been held out to the Boers. Lord Kitchener knows better. Any thinking man knows better. Such an assertion is on a par with the reiterated declarations that "the war is over," or with the unctuous pharisaism that declares the concentration camps to be healthier places than the average Boer home before the war. The unreliability of such statements, to use a mild term, is self-evident and conspicuous. The death-rate in the concentration camps is over 250 in 1,000. The death-rate

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in the Transvaal before the war was under 16 in 1,000. It is also instructive to note that of all the many thousands of prisoners taken by the Boers, 5,000 or 6,000 of whom were kept for many months before being released, less than 100 have died in captivity.

That the country is drifting all can see. But whither is it drifting? Taxes are mounting upward, and still upward, while trade is steadily going downward. The ship of state is in distress. A pilot is needed whose qualifications consist in something more than an ability to box the whole political compass.

In the war with America it took seven long years to bring Parliament to its senses. But in the end the right-seeing minority became the majority, and won the day. On March 4, 1782, General Conway moved and carried in Parliament, without a division, the motion that the House would consider as enemies to the Sovereign and the country all those who should advise the continued prosecution of the war. After this the way toward a treaty of peace was assured. What happened then may happen now. And yet, the war with America cost less than one-third of what the present deplorable struggle in South Africa has already swallowed up. The Americans, too, were revolted British subjects, while the citizens of neither of the Republics in South Africa could be so designated.

The Boers have made overtures for peace more than once. From the start they have invoked arbitration, and have declared themselves ready to abide by whatsoever verdict should be rendered. Can the cause of any nation be a just or righteous one that refuses to submit to this civilized and Christian method of settling disputes? Arbitration was successfully invoked in the case of Venezuela. Why should it not prove of equal potency in the present conflict? The door is still open for an honorable and lasting peace. But the negotiations must be put into trustworthy hands. No one on whom even the breath of suspicion rests should be entrusted with such a task. Can it be doubted that negotiators of the unquestioned honor, ability, and fairness of Mr. John Morley, Lord Coleridge, Mr. James Bryce, or Sir Robert Reid would still be able to bring order out of chaos, and peace out of internecine war? Men such as these are known and trusted by the Boers. Their word would be as good as their bond. Their promises, the Boers know, would be sacred, and carried out to the letter. Reliance could safely be put on such men, and on their knowledge of South African affairs as well.

A united opposition with a definite policy will use the opportunity presented by the reassembling of Parliament to direct the attention of

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the people toward a sensible policy of conciliation. It will urge the offering of generous terms to an honorable foe, whose unpardonable crime, in the eyes of the present Government, is, that they prize their liberties and will maintain their rights, even to the last man, rather than submit to the disgraceful terms of "unconditional surrender." Englishmen would do the same under like circumstances. Cannot Englishmen, then, respect a brave enemy battling for something better than the total extinction of all national existence, and the abridgment of local self-government?

The Liberal party has to-day an opportunity such as comes but at rare intervals in a nation's history. It has the men, and it has the ability, to effect much. The questions that the country is anxiously waiting to see decided are: Will the Liberal party employ to the fullest extent the power and ability it possesses? Will it present a united front to its shaken and dispirited opponents? Will it, by taking a firm and unmistakable stand, compel the adoption of a policy that shall save the drifting ship of state from striking on the rocks that loom ahead?

ALAN P. GILMOUR.

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THE SINKING FUND AND THE PUBLIC DEBT.

In the vault of the Register of the Treasury at Washington there is preserved a thin, ledger-shaped volume of sixty pages, entitled: "An Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of the United States commencing with the Establishment of the Treasury Department under the Present Government, and ending on the thirty-first day of December one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one." The book is time-worn and charred by fire, and was doubtless rescued from the flames that destroyed the Treasury Building on August 24, 1814. At the top of the fifty-fourth page, which is yellow and brittle with age, appears this statement in the account of the disbursements of the Treasury:

For the Reduction of the Public Debt.

For monies advanced to sundry persons Agents for the President of the Senate, the Chief Justice, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney-General, who, by virtue of the act entitled, "An act making provision for the Reduction of the Public Debt," are impowered to make purchases of the Debt of the United States.

1790.	Dec. 15.	To Samuel Meredith, Treasurer,	Warrant No.	776.	$200,000
1791.	Jan. 26.	do. - -	do.	856.	50,000
	Sept. 29.	do. - -	do.	1265.	149,984.23
					$399,984.23
	Feb. 5.	To Benjamin Lincoln, Collector for the District of Boston,	do.	869	$50,000
		To William Heth, Collector for the District of Bermuda-Hundred,	do.	870	50,000
	Sept. 29.	To William Seton, Cashier of the Bank of New York,	do.	1266	200,000
			Total amount,		$699,984.23

This is the first entry of the long series of entries that tells the story of the borrowing and repayment by the United States, in original and refunding loans, of over fifteen billions of dollars in a little over one hundred years. This story has no parallel in the financial history of any other nation, either in the magnitude of the results accomplished or in the rapidity with which they were brought about. It is especially

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interesting at this time when we are approaching the period which will witness the extinction of the last vestige of the enormous debt contracted during the Civil War.

While there is nothing more irritating and harassing to all honest men than the burden of private debts, there is nothing which gives the citizens of the United States less concern at the present time than do the public debt and the national obligation for its repayment. This apparent indifference is not due to any lack of integrity in the attitude of the people toward the national obligations, or to any desire to defer indefinitely the final discharge of the public debt; for, in the words of the late Senator Morrill, "The American people are emphatically a debt-paying people. They do not believe in perpetual mortgages." The prevailing feeling cannot be attributed to a falling-off in the zeal of our people in upholding the honor of our country, or to any failure to realize our duty to posterity in our present conduct of the affairs of the nation; for we have always believed with Jefferson that "the discharge of the debt is vital to the destinies of our government." Still less can the general indifference be ascribed to a disregard of the importance of maintaining unimpaired the credit of the nation; for we are still acting, as we always have done, upon the maxim of Hamilton, that "the creation of debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment."

The national debt gives us little or no concern at this time because the charges imposed by it upon the people are light and are rapidly diminishing, and because our abundant resources guarantee its prompt payment as it matures. The annual interest on the debt had fallen from over 143 millions in 1867 to less than 38 millions in 1898; and, notwithstanding the loan necessitated by the war with Spain, the present interest charge is only a little over 28 millions a year.

The principal reason why the national debt has ceased to vex the minds of men is because our people are conscious that the dream of the founder of our financial system has come true, that posterity would realize that he had solved the problem of rendering public credit immortal. Our interest-bearing debt is now about 940 millions, while the estimated revenues for the current year are 700 millions. Our two-per-cent bonds command a premium of over eight per cent in the open market. During the last four months the available cash balance in the Treasury has ranged from 160 millions to 190 millions. It is little wonder, then, that the question which now engages the attention of the legislative and administrative officers of the Government is not what we can do with the debt, but what we shall do with the surplus.

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The secret of rendering not only national but individual credit immortal lies in the prompt payment of debts. National debts, however they may be converted or refunded, can only be extinguished by the application of the accumulated annual surpluses of receipts over expenditures. No imaginary "earnings" of a sinking fund composed of bonds that have been paid and withdrawn, no juggling with figures, no necromancy of unintelligible accounts, no magic of compound interest on a cancelled debt — none of these has ever contributed one cent toward the discharge of national obligations. Whatever language may be used to describe it, and in whatever form its accounts may be kept, the only fund that wipes out national debt is the fund that results from spending in the support of the Government less than is received from the national revenues.

The story of the payment of the national debt is, therefore, the account of the means devised for earning a surplus and the methods adopted for its application. This narrative divides itself quite naturally into three periods: (1) From the establishment of the Government to the extinction of the debt in 1836; (2) from the commencement of the new debt in 1837 to the outbreak of the Civil War; and (3) from 1861 to the present time.

The Secretaries of the Treasury whose names were prominent in the first period of our financial history were Hamilton, Gallatin, Dallas, Crawford, and Woodbury. Hamilton's task was the establishment of the new Government and the restoration, or rather the creation, of public credit. Gallatin simplified and improved the debt-paying system, and, together with Dallas, met successfully the demands made upon the Treasury by the second war with England. Crawford enlarged the scope of the debt-paying provisions in the law, and paved the way for the final discharge of the debt. Woodbury had to deal with a surplus, but he found more difficulty in handling a surplus than his early predecessors experienced in dealing with deficits.

Hamilton's administration of the Treasury lasted a little over five years, from September 11, 1789, to February 2, 1795. The assumption of the debts of the Confederation, amounting to over 75 millions, made it imperative upon the new Government to provide for the funding and final payment of these debts. The Act of August 4, 1790, provided that, out of the amount realized from the duties on imports and the tonnage of ships, the sum of $600,000 should be reserved for the support of the Government, and that the residue should be appropriated annually toward the payment of the interest and the principal of the foreign

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debt, which amounted to $12,000,000. The President was authorized to borrow not exceeding $12,000,000 to meet the instalments that should come due on this debt, which was discharged in full in 1810. Provision was also made for funding the domestic debt. Section 22 of this act contains the first sinking-fund enactment. It provides that the proceeds of the sales of lands in the western territory shall be appropriated "towards sinking or discharging" the debts of the United States.

But this was only the beginning of Hamilton's elaborate sinking-fund scheme which was perfected in the legislation of the next five years. He briefly outlined his plan in his first Report on the Public Credit, in January, 1790:

> The Secretary proposes that the net product of the Post Office, to a sum not exceeding one million of dollars, be vested in commissioners, to consist of the Vice-President of the United States or President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Chief Justice, Secretary of the Treasury, and Attorney-General of the United States, for the time being, in trust; to be applied by them, or any three of them, to the discharge of the existing public debt, either by purchase of stock in the market, or by payments on account of the principal, as shall appear to them most advisable, in conformity to public engagements; to continue so vested, until the whole of the debt shall be discharged.

In his report of February 7, 1792, he refers for the first time to the interest on the purchases of the debt as a fund available for the reduction of the outstanding obligations. "The purchases of the debt, already made, have left a sum of interest in the Treasury, which will be increased by future purchases." This delusive language, which ascribes earning power to a cancelled debt, clothes with obscurity all the sinking-fund legislation of England and America during the last two centuries, and still throws an air of mystery about our existing laws.

No doubt Hamilton was familiar with Stanhope's sinking-fund plan, which was adopted by Walpole in 1716, and with Pitt's scheme of 1786. But he cannot be accused of borrowing the general idea of a sinking fund from Pitt, for in 1782 he had introduced in the Congress of the Confederation a resolution for the establishment of such a fund. Pitt's plan, which was largely the outcome of the work of Dr. Price, has been described as consisting of "the annual appropriation of a certain sum of money to the purchase of public stocks at their current price, and the application of the interest accruing upon stock so purchased to yet further increase the operations of the fund." Price convinced himself of the efficacy of his scheme with this astonishing argument:

> One penny put out at our Saviour's birth to five per cent compound interest would, in the year 1791, have increased to a greater sum than would be contained in three hundred millions of earths, all solid gold. But, if put out to simple interest,

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it would in the same time have amounted to no more than seven shillings and six pence. All governments that alienate funds destined for reimbursement choose to improve money in the last, rather than in the first, of these ways.

Hamilton, of course, was the last man in the world to be deceived by such ludicrous arguments. He knew that if by any stretch of language a cancelled debt could be said to draw interest, only surplus revenues could pay that interest. Why then did he adopt his complicated debt-paying machinery? The reason is plain. The prime object of his financial measures was to establish and maintain the credit of the new Government, not only at home, but abroad. What, then, was more natural than the adoption of a debt-paying plan that was familiar to all our creditors, and respected, if not understood, in all the money centres of Europe? All things considered, it was probably the best plan that could have been adopted at that time, as the results of its operation subsequently proved. Within a generation the United States paid off the debts incurred in two foreign wars and in the purchase of half a continent.

The Act of August 12, 1790, provided that the surplus revenues derived from duties on imports and from the tonnage of ships, together with the interest on the debt purchased, should be applied to the purchase of the debt at its market price not exceeding par. The purchases were to be made under the direction of the President of the Senate, the Chief Justice, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney-General, with the approbation of the President. In the Act of May 8, 1792, these officers were formally designated as commissioners. "The Sinking Fund" was established by name in the Act of March 3, 1795, and thereafter the officers having charge of the fund are referred to as "The Commissioners of the Sinking Fund."

The members of the first board were John Adams, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Edmund Randolph. They first met in New York City on August 26, 1790. For over thirty-five years this board had the supervision of the payment and purchases of the public debt. It was the most august and distinguished political body that ever assembled in the United States, composed as it was of the men who, from time to time, held the highest offices in the Federal Government. The high character of this board gave to the creditors of the nation the assurance that the laws for the payment of the debt would be faithfully executed. All the accounts of the board were kept by the Treasury Department. Moneys received for the sinking fund were passed to the account of the commissioners, and were paid out on their order. The

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board had only one salaried officer, a secretary, who received $250 a year.

Hamilton's sinking-fund scheme, as finally developed in the Act of 1795, contained two propositions: (1) that so much of the revenues as should be necessary to pay the instalments of principal on certain portions of the debt, together with all other sums theretofore appropriated for the sinking fund, including interest on the debt purchased, should constitute an annual appropriation to be paid to the sinking-fund commissioners to be used for the reduction of the debt; (2) that the surplus revenues over and above the annual appropriations should be paid to the commissioners. The Act declared that these funds should "be vested in the said commissioners, in trust," and that the faith of the United States was pledged that the moneys should "inviolably remain and be appropriated and vested, as aforesaid."

These provisions were in accordance with Hamilton's recommendations in his report of 1792, that the sinking fund should be "so vested as to acquire the nature and quality of a *proprietary* trust, incapable of being diverted without a violation of the principles and sanctions of *property*." Hamilton's theory was that whenever a loan was made, the act authorizing it should contain a provision establishing a fund for its payment, which should constitute part of the contract between the Government and its creditors. Such legislation may be assuring to the creditors as a declaration of national policy; but it is based on the assumption, too often proved to be erroneous, that subsequent Congresses will be bound thereby. Apart from its complexity and its adherence to the delusion in reference to the earnings of the cancelled debt, the most striking feature of Hamilton's plan was the uncertainty of its operations. As no specified amount was appropriated, it was impossible to tell beforehand what sum would be applicable in any year to the discharge of the debt; and as this sum depended largely upon the excess of receipts over expenditures it was subject to great and unexpected variations.

This uncertainty in the operations of our debt-paying machinery was removed by Albert Gallatin, who became Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson. He remained in office from May, 1801, to February, 1814, a longer term of service than that of any other cabinet officer in the history of the Government. Gallatin estimated that an annual payment of $7,300,000 would pay the interest on the debt and discharge the principal as it became due. The favorable condition of the revenues in 1802 led him to recommend to Congress such a modification of the

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sinking-fund laws as would authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to pay that sum to the sinking-fund commissioners each year. This recommendation was carried out in the law of April 29, 1802. Owing to the increase of the debt in 1803 by the issue of stock to the amount of $11,250,000, on account of the purchase of Louisiana, Congress, by Act of November 10, 1803, increased the appropriation for the sinking fund to $8,000,000 annually.

Under the operation of these laws, the debt had been reduced to $45,000,000 in 1812. The war with England then necessitated new loans. By January 1, 1816, the debt had risen to $127,000,000. The restoration of peace and the large increase in the revenues from customs and the sale of public lands enabled Congress, in 1817, to make large appropriations for the payment of the debt. By the Act of March 3, 1817, the sum of $10,000,000 was annually appropriated for the sinking fund, and $13,000,000 in addition was appropriated for the current fiscal year. Section 4 of this act provided that all surplus in the Treasury above the sum of $2,000,000 should be paid to the sinking-fund commissioners for the purchase of the debt.

This reservation is interesting as affording a comparison between what was considered a sufficient working balance for the Treasury in 1817 and the amount deemed necessary at the present time. This section also contains a touch of humor which was hardly to be looked for in a legal enactment, but of which its author must have been conscious. This appropriation for the sinking fund is to be made "whenever there shall be, at any time after an adjournment of Congress, in any year, a surplus of money in the Treasury." The author was undoubtedly alive to the disintegrating effects upon the Treasury surplus of a session of the Congress of which he was a member. To the credit of his perspicacity, however, it may be said that many subsequent Congresses have displayed marked ability in the obliteration of surpluses.

The earlier statutes specified the maximum prices at which the debt should be purchased and threw around the commissioners other restrictions. On January 1, 1830, the debt was $49,000,000. The Act of April 24, 1830, the last statute conferring authority upon the sinking-fund commissioners, was in the nature of a vote of confidence in that body. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to place at the disposal of the commissioners such portion of the surplus as he might decide upon with the approbation of the President; and the commissioners were given authority "to apply such surplus to the purchase of any portion of the public debt, at such rates as, in their opinion, may be

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advantageous to the United States; anything in any act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding."

In his annual message of December 7, 1835, President Jackson was able to congratulate the country upon the extinction of the national debt. In this message he also recommended that the offices of commissioners of the sinking fund be abolished. The commissioners met for the last time in Washington, February 6, 1836. Their report to Congress of that date contains this paragraph:

> The commissioners respectfully renew the recommendation submitted by them to Congress in their last report, that the sinking fund and the commissioners of the sinking fund be discontinued, and suitable provision made for the payment of the principal and interest of the remaining portions of the public debt when called for, as was proposed in the annual report made to the commissioners by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1835; and also that directions be given for the disposition of the records and papers of the commissioners, after the discontinuance of the board.

This is probably the only instance where Federal office-holders have recommended the discontinuance of their offices. They set an example which has had no followers and for which there was no precedent. They deserve the gratitude of their country, however, for establishing a precedent that may be commended to those office-holders who are sensitive about throwing upon Congress the sole responsibility of terminating the unilateral relation that exists between them and the national Treasury. The men who made themselves immortal by advising their own removal from the ancient and honorable office of sinking-fund commissioners were Martin Van Buren, Vice-President, John Forsyth, Secretary of State, Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury, and Benjamin F. Butler, Attorney-General. The office of Chief Justice was not represented on the board, as Marshall had died in July, 1835, and his successor had not been appointed. The last official reference to the board is in the Treasury Statement of 1837, where this item occurs among the payments for the civil list: "Asbury Dickins, as Secretary of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, to April 11, 1836, $43.95."

Notwithstanding the recommendations of the President and the commissioners, no action was ever taken by Congress to abolish the board. With the extinction of the debt and the exit of Dickins, its operations were necessarily suspended, and it became practically extinct. Since 1836 the laws previously passed relating to the sinking fund have been considered obsolete.

A review of the first period in the history of the payment of our debt inevitably suggests a comparison between the sinking fund of Hamilton and that of Gallatin. Many such comparisons have been

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made, but the writers who criticise one system or the other fail too often to give proper consideration to the difference in the circumstances which surrounded the two men, and to a great extent controlled their policies. The essence of the difference between the two systems is, that Hamilton depended almost exclusively upon annual surpluses for his sinking fund, while Gallatin aimed to make the appropriation of a specific sum for annual debt-paying purposes a permanent lien upon the yearly revenues, prior to all other appropriations. But it is quite evident that Hamilton could hardly have adopted any more definite plan, for he began his administration with an empty Treasury and without revenues. Gallatin, on the other hand, succeeded to a well-established revenue system and a constantly increasing surplus.

The difference between the two systems was largely due to the difference in the times. The dominant object in the minds of Washington and Hamilton was the erection of a lasting Government upon the foundation of the Federal Constitution. To accomplish their object it was necessary to create national credit. This was done by assuming and funding upon favorable terms the debts of the Confederation. With Jefferson and Gallatin, the Government having been firmly established, the paramount issue, to use a familiar phrase, was the payment of the debt. Some months after his retirement Jefferson wrote to Gallatin, who was still at the head of the Treasury: "The discharge of the debt is vital to the destinies of our Government. We shall never see another President and Secretary of the Treasury making all other objects subordinate to this." While there was no net reduction of the debt under Hamilton's administration, and Gallatin's plan broke down under the strain of the war of 1812, it is still true that Hamilton's plan created and maintained the national credit which made possible the successful prosecution of the war, and that Gallatin's plan finally wiped out the debt which the national credit established by Hamilton's plan had enabled us to contract.

The second period in the history of the national debt, from 1837 to 1861, has received little consideration from writers on our revenue and financial systems. One well-known and able historian of the debt disposes of this period in less than three lines. It is, however, a useful period to study not for its triumphs, but for its blunders. The first period was characterized by strong, vigorous, successful national financiering. The second period was marked by weak policies, often resulting in the wanton violation of the established principles of sound finance.

One general comparison will show the vast difference between the

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results accomplished in the two periods. As we have seen, the second war with England left us with a debt of 128 millions. In less than twenty years the entire debt had been discharged. In the ten years of peace from 1837 to 1847, notwithstanding the increase in wealth and population, a surplus of over 42 millions was dissipated, and a new debt was contracted, which had risen to 39 millions at the beginning of the war with Mexico. Another ten years of peace and national development made no permanent reduction in the debt, which was still over 60 millions at the outbreak of the Civil War.

The period which we are considering opened without a debt and with a large balance in the Treasury. The scheme of distributing this surplus by depositing it with the State treasurers seems in our day more like the vagary of a madman than an act of intelligent legislation. Upon Congress alone rests the responsibility of this blunder, and to no less a man than Henry Clay belongs the discredit of introducing the measure that brought disaster and disgrace upon the country. Although Woodbury was not a great statesman or a brilliant financier, it is to his lasting credit that he always opposed this financial folly.

This dissipation of the funds in the Treasury, the consequent suspension of the State banks, and a falling-off in the revenues, compelled the Government to borrow money to defray current expenses. The Act of October 12, 1837, authorized the issue of Treasury notes to the extent of $10,000,000. This beginning of a new national debt was marked by a departure from the old sinking-fund policy. For twenty-five years we had no sinking fund, and, although the matter was urged upon Congress, no systematic and effective legislation was provided for the extinction of the debt.

The general powers formerly vested in the sinking-fund commissioners were now transferred to the Secretary of the Treasury. Section 8 of the above act provides:

> That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause to be reimbursed and paid the principal and interest of the Treasury notes which may be issued by virtue of this act, at the several time and times when the same, according to the provisions of this act, should be thus reimbursed and paid. And the said Secretary is further authorized to make purchases of the said notes, at par, for the amount of the principal and interest due at the time of purchase on such notes. And so much of any unappropriated money in the Treasury as may be necessary for that purpose is hereby appropriated, for paying the principal and interest of said notes.

Clauses similar to this were inserted in all the acts authorizing new loans down to 1862. In the later laws of this period there were no re-

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strictions as to the price at which the debt should be purchased, and the entire surplus was appropriated for the purpose of discharging the debt.

Under the stimulus of the tariff of 1846 the revenues rapidly increased, and by 1852 a large balance had accumulated in the Treasury. Extensive bond purchases were made during the next few years; the Secretary, in his discretion, paying at times a premium of over twenty per cent. Congress was again embarrassed by a surplus with which it was unable to cope successfully; and an injudicious cut in the tariff reduced the revenues below the annual demands of the Government and precipitated the panic of 1857. In the follies and blunders of this period, especially in dealing with large Treasury balances, may be found some justification for the conclusion of Professor Adams, that "the policy of systematic deficits is believed to be in more perfect harmony with sound rules of finance than the policy of a continuous surplus."

No financier of the first rank presided over the Treasury during this period, and the financial reports are, with few exceptions, of uniform mediocrity. One report, however, deserves to be rescued from obscurity —the annual report for the year 1844 of George M. Bibb, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury during the last year of Tyler's administration. This report sets forth the dangers of a constant surplus; analyzes the sinking-fund systems of Hamilton and Gallatin; suggests the reappointment of the sinking-fund commissioners; and recommends the annual appropriation of $2,000,000 for the sinking-fund account.

Bibb had no hallucinations about an automatically working sinking fund that discharged outstanding liabilities out of compound interest on a cancelled debt. His luminous definition of the only real sinking fund should be sufficient to preserve his name from oblivion:

> The excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which a public debt can be discharged. The lessening of expense and the increase of revenue are the only means by which the sinking fund can be enlarged, and its effectual operations be accelerated.

The third period in the history of the payment of the national debt opens with the revenue legislation of the Civil War. It was the plan of Secretary Chase to carry on the war by means of loans. His revenue measures were based on the principle laid down by Hamilton, that every debt should be accompanied by the means for its extinction. In pursuance of this policy, he recommended the establishment of a sinking-fund scheme that combined some of the features of the systems of Hamilton and Gallatin. This plan, which was enacted into law as Section

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5 of the Act of February 25, 1862, authorizes the issue of United States notes and six-per-cent bonds, and provides:

> That all duties on imported goods shall be paid in coin, or in notes payable on demand heretofore authorized to be issued and by law receivable in payment of public dues, and the coin so paid shall be set apart as a special fund, and shall be applied as follows:
>
> First. To the payment in coin of the interest on the bonds and notes of the United States.
>
> Second. To the purchase or payment of one per centum of the entire debt of the United States, to be made within each fiscal year after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, which is to be set apart as a sinking fund, and the interest of which shall in like manner be applied to the purchase or payment of the public debt as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct.
>
> Third. The residue thereof to be paid into the Treasury of the United States.

This sinking-fund law, codified in the Revised Statutes as Section 3694, is still in force. The language of the law is plain and the intention of the Legislature clear, with the exception of the fiction concerning the interest on the purchased debt. Enough of the coin received from duties on imports to pay the interest and purchase or pay before maturity one per cent of the principal of the debt was to be annually withheld from the Treasury and applied by the Secretary to such payments or purchases. Only the "residue" was to be paid into the Treasury. Every year the interest and one per cent of the principal of the debt were to be paid, no matter how small the balance that would go to the Treasury for the support of the Government.

This is the plain language of the law and the interpretation placed upon it by those who were instrumental in its adoption. As late as 1870 Mr. Sherman said in the Senate, in speaking of this law: "These particular revenues are pledged, mortgaged. You have no more right to take them for any other purpose than the public debt, than you have to take my property." No one has yet been able to determine whether the Legislature intended that the interest on the purchased debt should also be considered a prior lien on the customs receipts.

At the close of the war it was estimated that the operation of the sinking fund would discharge the debt in about thirty-five years. But the law has been variously interpreted at different times by the financial officers of the Government, and, under any interpretation that has been given to it, has never been fully complied with. Strangely enough it is under Mr. Sherman's administration of the Treasury that we find the smallest annual debt reduction in the history of the sinking fund. In 1879 the total amount credited to the sinking fund was only $18,500. So much easier is it to make and interpret the laws than to execute them.

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From 1865 to 1869 large amounts of floating and matured indebtedness were "paid"; but it was not until May, 1869, that any purchases of the debt were made for the sinking fund. It is with this date that the sinking-fund account, as kept by the Treasury, begins. During the last thirty-two years the annual purchases for the sinking fund have ranged from $18,500, in 1879, to over 74 millions in 1881; and the total amount of securities redeemed for the sinking fund up to July 1, 1901, was 962 millions. On that date there was a balance due the sinking fund of over 343 millions; that is, if the requirements of the law had been fully complied with since 1869 over 343 millions more of securities would have been redeemed and credited to the fund.

But the sinking-fund account by no means shows the full amount of the debt that has been cancelled since 1865, or even since 1869. The interest-bearing debt in 1865 was 2,300 millions, and additions have been made to it since that time. However, the outstanding interest-bearing debt is now less than 950 millions. We must look, therefore, to some other account for an item of 800 millions of cancelled debt.

The Refunding Act of 1870 contained this provision, codified as Section 3696 of the Revised Statutes:

> In addition to other amounts that may be applied to the redemption or payment of the public debt, an amount equal to the interest on all bonds belonging to the sinking fund shall be applied, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct, to the payment of the public debt.

The authority vested in the Secretary of the Treasury by this law was extended by the Act of March 3, 1881, Section 2 of which provides:

> That the Secretary of the Treasury may at any time apply the surplus money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as he may consider proper, to the purchase or redemption of United States bonds: Provided, that the bonds so purchased or redeemed shall constitute no part of the sinking fund, but shall be cancelled.

These enactments confer upon the Secretary of the Treasury powers similar to those given to the old sinking-fund commissioners by the Act of 1830.

What is the practical operation of the sinking-fund law in connection with these later statutes? How have these laws been interpreted and administered by the Treasury department?

The sinking-fund law has not been regarded as mandatory. No coin has been set aside to meet the requirements of the law. The interest on the sinking fund has not been considered a permanent annual appropriation. All purchases and redemptions of bonds have been made out of the surplus funds in the Treasury. Whenever in any year the de-

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mands of the sinking fund for that year have been complied with, additional purchases of bonds which may be made in that year are carried in another account. This method of separating into two accounts transactions belonging to the same subject is illogical and confusing.

Besides those already mentioned two other transactions are now carried in the sinking-fund account. Under the law of 1890 money deposited by national banks with the Secretary of the Treasury to secure their circulation is carried as part of the public debt. Redemptions of bank notes are now credited to the sinking fund. The Financial Act of 1900 provides that the premiums paid by the Secretary of the Treasury in exchanging two-per-cent bonds for outstanding securities shall also be credited to the sinking fund.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, the disbursements on the sinking-fund accounts amounted in round numbers to 56 millions. The official statement for the year shows the manner in which the account is kept:

SINKING-FUND ACCOUNT. FISCAL YEAR, 1901.

DR.		CR.	
To balance from last year	$345,998,471.37	June 30, 1901—	
July 1, 1900—		By principal of bonded debt redeemed in 1901	$36,088,120.00
To one per cent on the principal of the public debt on June 30, 1900, less coin and currency certificates, Treasury notes, and cash available for reduction of the debt, viz., $1,263,416,912.67.	12,634,169.13	By accrued interest thereon	147,682.79
June 30, 1901—		By *fractional currency and notes* redeemed in 1901	3,428.78
To interest on redemption prior to fiscal year 1901	40,962,389.79	By accrued interest thereon	125.35
To interest on $36,091,548.78 amount of debt "paid" during fiscal year 1901	564,924.50	By national-bank notes redeemed	5,743,569.00
		By premium on bonds purchased,	1,841,120.77
		By excess of present worth over par value of bonds exchanged for 2-per-cent consols of 1930	12,808,452.18
		By balance	343,527,455.92
	$400,159,954.79		$400,159,954.79

An analysis of this account will show some of the departures from a literal interpretation of the law. The law says that one per centum of the "entire debt" shall be discharged in each fiscal year. The official statement of the "entire debt" on June 30, 1900, shows that it was $2,101,445,225.67. But the computation for the sinking fund is made on the net debt, or the entire debt less the cash in the Treasury. Even on the basis of the Treasury computation the sinking fund last year called for 54 millions, exclusive of the bank-notes and two-per-cent bond premiums. The purchases, however, were less than 38 millions. The first item in the foregoing account, of over 345 millions, shows the deficit in the sinking fund up to the beginning of the fiscal year 1901.

Again, the law directs that one per centum of the debt shall be paid

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or purchased in each year, not that an amount equal to one per centum thereof shall be disbursed. To carry out the intent of the law, therefore, the premiums paid on purchases of one per centum of the debt, if credited to the sinking fund, should also be carried as a charge against the account. Further illustrations are unnecessary to show that the operation of the sinking-fund laws which have been on the statute-books for forty years is not uniform, certain, or automatic. These laws are simply a system of bookkeeping. Their operation depends, as the operation of all such laws must depend, upon the condition of the Treasury and the discretion of the financial officer of the Government.

As no one could justly criticise the Secretary of the Treasury for a full compliance with these laws, to the extent at least of applying the surplus thereto, it is interesting to consider what effect such a compliance would have in the next few years upon the public debt. At the close of business on December 1, 1901, the aggregate debt was, in round numbers, 2,100 millions. Of this sum, 811 millions consisted of certificates and Treasury notes secured by cash in the Treasury, 7 millions of fractional currency, little of which will ever be presented for redemption, and 35 millions held for the redemption of national bank notes. This leaves the debt unsecured except by cash in the Treasury 1,300 millions, consisting of 347 millions of United States notes, or greenbacks, bearing no interest, and 950 millions of bonds. This interest-bearing debt is made up of 20 millions in five-per-cent bonds due in 1904; 240 millions in four-per-cent bonds due in 1907; 98 millions in three-per-cent bonds due in 1908; 140 millions in four-per-cent bonds due in 1925; and 446 millions in two-per-cent bonds due in 1930.

From the above analysis it will appear that there are 358 millions of bonds maturing within the next six years. Now the present annual demands of the sinking fund are something over 55 millions, and of course these demands increase as the capital of the sinking fund increases. It is apparent, therefore, that, if the sinking-fund laws could be made to work automatically and with precision, the entire amount of the debt maturing on or before August 1, 1908, would be discharged by their operation.

The outstanding interest-bearing debt would then consist of 140 millions due in seventeen years, and 446 millions due in twenty-two years. But the annual demands of the sinking fund would, in 1908, be about 67 millions a year. A compliance with these demands would redeem the 140 millions in three years, so that in 1911 there would be outstanding only the 446 millions of two-per-cent bonds. In 1911

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the requirements of the sinking fund would be over 71 millions a year. A compliance with these requirements would, therefore, extinguish our interest-bearing debt by 1917. It was after this fashion that the framers of the law of 1862 intended it to work. But in its practical operation the Secretary of the Treasury is restricted to a judicious use of the balance remaining in the Treasury each year "after an adjournment of Congress."

Through the courtesy of the Secretary, I am enabled to give a statement of the sinking-fund account for the first six months of the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1901:

SINKING-FUND ACCOUNT. FISCAL YEAR 1902—SIX MONTHS.

DR.		CR.	
To balance from last year	$343,527,455.92	July 1, 1901, to December 31, 1901—	
To one per cent on principal of the public debt on June 30, 1901, less coin and currency certificates, Treasury notes, and cash available for reduction of the debt, viz., $1,221,572,244.89	12,215,722.45	By principal of bonded debt redeemed in 1902	$43,934,460.00
To interest on redemptions prior to fiscal year 1902	41,980,309.17	By accrued interest thereon	225,739.42
To interest on $43,938,659.75, amount of debt "paid" from July 1 to December 31, 1901	1,484,686.85	By fractional currency and notes redeemed in 1902	4,199.75
		By accrued interest thereon	442.32
		By premium on bonds purchased.	11,399,471.48
		By balance	343,643,861.42
	$399,208,174.39		$399,208,174.39

This statement shows that the principal of the bonded debt has been reduced eight million dollars more in the first six months of this year than it was in the whole of the preceding year.

In the foregoing estimate of the reduction of the debt that would take place if the sinking-fund laws were carried out, no account has been taken of the bond purchases which the Secretary is authorized to make by the Act of 1881, in addition to the requirements of the sinking fund. If the rate of reduction during the first six months of this year should be maintained throughout the year, the reduction of the principal of the bonded debt alone would amount to over 87 millions. A continuance of this annual rate of reduction would extinguish the entire interest-bearing debt in about eleven years.

The outstanding bonds bearing interest at three, four, and five per cent can be readily converted as they mature into long-time two-per-cent gold bonds, under the Act of 1900. We have in the Treasury an available cash balance that, as we have seen, has stood at between 160 and 190 millions during the last four months. The Secretary estimates that the surplus for the year ending June 30, 1902, will be 100

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millions. This would produce a Treasury balance on that date of about 230 millions, if no future purchases of the debt should be made.

Congress ought, therefore, to determine whether the policy of reducing the debt should be continued, or a plan for converting the bonds adopted. If our ordinary expenditures are not increased and the purchases of the debt are discontinued, a greater reduction in taxation can, of course, be made than if we adhere to the policy of reducing the debt. I have no faith, however, in the supposed benefits of a national debt; neither do I believe in the policy of national deficit financiering, or in the efficacy of the restraining influence of such a system. We cannot tell what national trials the future may have in store for our country, and we should not selfishly transfer to posterity any burden of debt which the present peace and our abundant resources enable us easily to discharge.

In closing his extremely able report to Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury suggests that this is a most favorable time "to enter upon judicious measures to eliminate such elements of financial weakness as experience has brought into view, and to perfect, if possible, our now imperfect system of currency." In accordance with his suggestion this would seem to be a good time to repeal the obsolete sinking-fund law of 1862, whose inefficiency experience has effectually demonstrated.

We are now in a position to revert to Gallatin's policy and make a permanent annual appropriation of a sum that will be sufficient, in connection with the occasional use of the annual surplus, to discharge the outstanding bonds as they mature. Such a policy, definite in its terms and certain in its action, would enable us to adjust more nearly than we can now do our annual receipts to our annual expenditures. With such a permanent appropriation we should still be justified in making a considerable reduction in our present revenues. Such a reduction should, however, be made with caution. While a large surplus in the Treasury offers a tempting invitation to extravagant appropriations, on the one hand, it presents, on the other hand, an attractive inducement to an inconsiderate curtailment of the revenues. Congress is now given an excellent opportunity to shun the folly of 1836, avoid the blunder of 1857, and demonstrate for the first time its ability to deal successfully with a large and increasing surplus.

In 1817 two million dollars was considered a sufficient working balance for the Treasury; in 1837 five million dollars was held to be ample; at the present time fifty million dollars would undoubtedly meet all ordinary demands. There is now in the Treasury a sum of 120 mil-

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lions over and above a reservation of 50 millions. In the present condition of the public credit, the accumulation of money in the National Treasury is not only of no benefit to the Government, but it is a positive injury to the business interests of the country.

The present condition of our finances and our prospective revenues recommend the diversion into the channels of productive private enterprises of some 80 millions which now flow annually into the vaults of the Treasury in the shape of war revenue taxes. Sound financial policy and the preservation of good faith with the people who have borne these taxes urge their repeal before another fiscal year begins.

No other portion of the public debt has caused the country as much trouble as the United States notes. As originally issued, they constituted the worst kind of a forced loan, justified only by the inexorable demands of war and the stern necessity of self-preservation. The suspension of specie payments and the issue of these notes — both being due to the absence of an adequate banking system — cost the Government several hundred million dollars through the payment of bond purchases in these notes at a heavy discount and the redemption of the bonds in gold. The total issue of these notes was, in round numbers, 450 millions. Over 100 millions were redeemed before their redemption was stopped. Of the amount redeemed, 29 millions were added to the sinking fund, which also contains 26 millions of fractional currency.

To meet the requirements of the sinking-fund law, so far as the statement of an account goes, interest on this redeemed paper is computed at six per cent, while interest on the other securities in the sinking fund is calculated at the rate which they bore when redeemed, and varies from 2 to 7.3 per cent. What could more effectually demonstrate the folly of the superstition that a cancelled debt earns compound interest than the necessity of keeping up the fiction that this paper currency, which bore no interest while it was alive, is able, now that it has been dead and entombed for a generation in the vaults of the sinking fund, to "earn" six per cent annually?

In his report the Secretary of the Treasury suggests a use to which the United States notes might be put in the improvement and extension of our national banking system. This plan deserves most careful consideration if the greenbacks are to be preserved. But why should we retain for any purpose the worst portion of the public indebtedness? Following in the line of the closing recommendation of the report, is not this an appropriate time to take the necessary steps for the final redemption of these notes? The Secretary of the Treasury under whose

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guidance our currency shall be reduced to gold and silver, and paper representing coin, will deserve the gratitude of his contemporaries; and, whether he receives this or not, posterity will add his name to the roll of our greatest national financiers.

The lessons of the history of the sinking fund and the payment of the public debt are important and should frequently be recalled. Although nations should always be prepared, so far as possible, for the unexpected, sudden emergencies will arise which call for abnormal expenditures and justify extraordinary measures, including sometimes, in dire extremities, forced loans and the issue of irredeemable currency.

In these days of extended international credit a national hoard is of little or no benefit to the Government, while the concentration of money, by withdrawing it from the channels of productive industry, is a direct injury to the people. A nation that promptly pays its debts can contract new debts on the most favorable terms. Nations, like individuals, can provide for the payment of their indebtedness only by economy and saving. An automatically working sinking fund is a myth. No sinking fund can be devised that will even operate constantly, with certainty and precision. For this there are two reasons: (1) the discharge of the public debt, and even the payment of interest, must yield at times to the superior demands of the State for its own preservation; and (2) even a sovereign Legislature cannot bind the hands of its successors.

The rise and fall of public revenues are so sudden and so incapable of being foretold that reduction of revenue, when justifiable, should always be made gradually and with caution. Temporary or emergency taxes should be repealed before changes, designed solely for revenue reduction, are made in the permanent sources of the national income.

The history of the debts of modern nations — for national debts are a matter of the last two hundred years — has demonstrated the vast difference that exists between the principles of private and public financiering. The chief aim of the man engaged in private business is the accumulation of a surplus and its profitable investment. Wise and successful public financiering consists, however, in the nicest possible adjustment of receipts to expenditures; avoiding both constantly recurring deficits and a constantly accumulating surplus.

In conclusion, the story of the payment of our national debt enforces this precept, that periods of peace and prosperity should be devoted to the discharge of national obligations and to laying the sure foundations for future public credit; for it is a nation's credit, and not its army or navy, that makes it impregnable. HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.

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LI HUNG CHANG: A CHARACTER SKETCH.

By the death of Li Hung Chang China has lost not only her greatest statesman of modern times, but her most widely known citizen. The 400,000,000 of China, as well as the millions of all continents, know his name and something of his history. In this fact alone may be seen his striking preëminence. When before has a representative of the Mongolian race made an impression on the people of Asia, Europe, and America? His success became evident when these three continents concentrated their armies and diplomacy in the capital of China. Greater even than any emperor of his lifetime is he; for in all languages his name is spoken even by children and the illiterate, while only scholars can distinguish one emperor in China from another. Tall and stately as he was in stature, he towered above his fellows in intellect, and especially in diplomacy. President Grant had good reason for saying that the three greatest men he had met in his tour around the world were William Ewart Gladstone, Prince Bismarck, and Li Hung Chang.

With what royal honors was he received in Europe and North America! And yet it was known that at the time he was not a *persona grata* with the Court of his own country. The greatness of the man and his past achievements commended him to the fair-minded of other lands while in his own country he was without honor and looked on with suspicion.

His preëminence was unique. The highest official rank in China is that of First Grand Secretary of State, and this rank was bestowed on him in 1875. He was the first Chinese to be thus honored during the present Manchu dynasty. During the China-Japan war, when one attempt after another had been made not only to degrade him from all rank and honor, but to take his life, he was imperially appointed to be the one minister with plenipotentiary powers to negotiate peace with victorious Japan. Again in 1900, after princes, nobles, and various Manchu dignitaries had rushed the Government into the policy of exterminating foreigners, Li Hung Chang, opposed to this policy, was appointed to sue for peace, even before the allies had captured Peking or

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relieved the legations. While many mistrusted him, he was still the only man to fill the breach made by Manchu folly. He had his enemies, but he was called to the leadership — placed there, in fact, by the command of his sovereign. Though accused of being a traitor, and even while thus accused, he was given such power as, in the hands of a traitor, would have ruined the empire. His strong personality won him victories, and made him again and again indispensable.

The quality that saved him, and so saved the empire, was his patriotism. More than once was he urged, in the days of his greatest strength, when head of both the navy and the army of the North, to go to Pekin, overthrow the Manchus, and seize the throne. He always spurned such counsels. He remained loyal to the Empress Dowager from the first time that she assumed the regency, in 1860. He despised the easy-going, superficial, narrow-minded imperial nobles and Manchu mandarins; but he put forth his utmost energy, in hours of crisis, for the maintenance of the existing Manchu dynasty. He realized, perhaps, that amid the complications which the presence of foreign powers had produced no new rule established by himself could succeed; or it may be that he preferred to bequeath to coming generations a reputation for fidelity and loyalty in the service of his supreme patron, the Empress Dowager. Whatever his motives, his public record evinces a patriotism which many have supposed did not exist in China.

As far as his personal allegiance was concerned, he was loyal more to the Empress Dowager than to her adopted son, the Emperor Kuang-hsu. The latter he regarded as weak-minded; the former he eulogized, notwithstanding her avarice and her complicity in the outrages of 1900. It is, perhaps, doubtful if he could have maintained a feeling of devotion to the dynasty, had he felt no personal admiration for the woman who for forty years has exercised the predominant authority.

In addition to a personal attachment there was in him, as in most Chinese, a conservative element, which turned from revolution and held to existing order and traditional rule. Though a supporter of the Manchu dynasty he was yet a typical Chinaman, devoted to the teachings of the ancient sages, and ready to observe the usages of his people. When only twenty-five years of age he won a degree in the third or metropolitan examination, and ever after he was a defender of ideas, manners, and things Chinese.

With all his conservatism he possessed the opposite quality of progressiveness. While admiring the history and teachings of his own country, he was quick to advocate improvements from abroad. For

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more than twenty years before the war with Japan he was the leader of Chinese progress. Through him more than anyone else telegraphs, steamships, railways, a foreign-trained army, a navy, arsenals, foreign medicine, hospitals, and other Western ideas were introduced. He faced ridicule that the new might win its way. It was during this period that, as viceroy at Tientsin, he gained the reputation among all foreigners of being the virtual premier of China. If foreigners desired a concession or syndicate, they came to him. If the Peking Government needed assistance in dealing with the representatives of other Governments, it came to him. His confrères might think of making him a cat's-paw, but he was more apt to become a dictator. He was the middleman between China and the West. International treaties, mercantile compacts, concessionary agreements, papers for the employment of foreigners — all these depended on his approval and seal. He was pro-Chinese, but he was spoken of, and often denounced, as pro-foreign. Slanderers dubbed him "the second grade foreign devil." Few understood him as he really was.

His spirit of reform differed from that of the young reformers, who rushed the Emperor headlong into trouble in 1898. He was conservatively progressive; they were radically progressive. He had the slowness of age; they had the speed of youth. Many of their ideas had been his proposition, but he did not recognize them. He spoke of the young men as crazy, and they regarded him as an obstructionist. They believed in themselves as leaders and saviors of China; while it was his belief that he alone could do anything of value, and that without his advice and guidance the country would come to ruin. Hence it was that, whether progressive Chinese or reactionary Manchus were in power, he became despondent as to the future of China in proportion to the amount of neglect or encouragement which he himself received.

It is also noticeable that reforms which he favored were material rather than moral. He was more affected by outside glamour and attractiveness than by exhortations to moral reformation and the adoption of a new religion. He thought that China possessed enough moral sayings, and that what she needed was practical, visible, tangible improvements. Furthermore, he was convinced that Western nations were ahead of China, not in morals, still less in ethical teaching, but in material civilization. In fact, viewing him as a reformer, we must confess that he failed to inculcate honesty or to resist the various forms of official corruption. He regarded it all as mere custom, and thought that, for the present, Chinese custom need not be changed to foreign custom, espe-

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cially when the latter might not be adaptable or easy of operation. Both he and his elder brother, Li Han Chang, began life poor, but accumulated large fortunes, which for the most part could have come only through their official positions. They have therefore, with some reason, been criticised as corrupt, even by those foreigners and Chinese who have used corrupt methods to gain their own ends.

This feature of his political creed and practice illustrates his attitude toward religion. He was more moved by material results in religion, whatever the name, than by its spiritual character. He observed certain religious rites, but rather as rites than as matters of principle. He was a typical Confucianist in thinking little of the future life, and in concerning himself little with dogmas as distinct from conduct. And yet for years he had prepared his coffin, desiring to enter on his long journey according to respectable Chinese usage. He did not believe that death ends all, neither did he try to think out what life hereafter is to be. He was an indifferentist rather than an agnostic, and was inclined to materialism rather than to spiritualism. As to Christianity, he favored the practice of missionary physicians more than the preaching of missionary evangelists. He preferred the Roman Catholic missions for their organization, and Protestant missions for intermeddling less in the native courts, and for the benefits accruing through their schools, hospitals, and translations of scientific books. He often complained that missionaries were a great nuisance, but he was prompt to give them such protection as the treaties required. Being an indifferentist he made less objection to religious toleration than a more religious but more bigoted man would have done. He read the Bible at times, for he had no fear of being made a convert.

In the course of my first conversation with him, after I had lived as missionary for seven years in a region near the sacred birthplace of Confucius and Mencius, he magnified Confucianism by catechizing me as follows: "Why do you missionaries come to China?" "To reform the Chinese people," I replied. "Oh, you needn't do that; we have all our sages who can do that." "But we have heard that there are some who cannot be reformed by Confucianism, and so we thought to try what Christianity could do." "Oh, if our religion cannot reform them, a foreign religion cannot." "But," I insisted, "give it a chance. If Christianity cannot do any good to your people, reject it; but if it can do good, accept it." "Useless!" — with a shake of the head — "useless!" As a parting shaft, when he accompanied me to the door, he asked: "How soon are you leaving for your home country?" "In three weeks," was

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the innocent reply. "Well," with a twinkle, "you needn't come back. You had better stay in America to reform the Americans, so that they will treat our people a little better."

As a key to his character he might be termed a fatalist. He was a remarkable example of resignation. During the China-Japan war, when all China's woes and defeats were being traced to his mismanagement, and edicts were being issued for his condemnation, he went about his yamen at Tientsin quietly attending to his duties, and as complacent as in the former days of his widest renown. Whatever Fate decided it was useless for him to try to alter. "Whatever is, is," was his creed. Circumstances he might try to modify, but the force of circumstances he took as inexorable law, yielded to it, and was content. This feature of his character was conspicuous during the trying negotiations for peace which he, with Prince Ching, carried on with the plenipotentiaries of eleven powers. What he thought to be for the interests of his country he exerted himself to secure; but when he received an ultimatum he submitted, and made the best of an unpleasant situation. He did not bewail the inevitable. He went ahead to do the next possible thing, however inferior it might be to his wish or ideal. Very few can equal the Chinese in patience and cheerfulness in unpleasant circumstances, and Li Hung Chang in this gift stands first.

At the same time he was a man of strong passion. He would denounce his attendants, rage at any who opposed him, blurt out contemptuous remarks to inferior rivals, and hurl anathemas at those who differed. It was hard for self-respect to endure his contempt and anger. And yet his greatest fits of passion had a humorous side, and in consequence could be gently overlooked. In his last years one could feel that his disposition was mellowing, and could admire him for his self-mastery.

As an outcome of his peculiar temperament he became a champion tease. Sometimes his teasing was tinctured with a small spice of spite, but more generally it was made palatable by the essence of real good-humor. He loved a joke, but still more loved to joke others. Pleasantry was a relief to him. To "poke fun" was his evening recreation after the performance of arduous duties. Even serious deliberations were facilitated by laughter. Probably no other Chinese official shows this trait of humor and sarcasm to as large a degree. Dignity is the more usual characteristic. Chinese have more humor than foreigners suppose, but teasing is seldom indulged in by those high in rank. In fact, it would generally be regarded as unbecoming; even with such a great man as Li Hung Chang many found an inclination to resent it. To ap-

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preciate it placidly one needed a long acquaintance and an easy attitude of give and take.

Not only was he a champion tease, but a first-class quiz. Those who came to interview him found, on leaving, that they themselves had been interviewed. His familiarity through forty years with persons of all classes and countries made it natural for him to ask questions. His pseudonym might well be an interrogation point. Many of his questions seemed to a stranger childish or perhaps disrespectful, but through them all might be seen an inquiring mind eager for knowledge. He was especially keen on knowing how much money a man had or had made. It seemed to him as practical a theme as any. Cash is the common talk of all China; and Li Hung Chang was eager to discuss with others their way of getting a fortune, as he himself was eager to possess one and to make the wisest investments. One's age was always inquired into, as it generally is by all Chinese. In addition, he would ask if his visitor, whether gentleman or lady, was married, and if not, why not. Seeing that all respectable Chinese are married, he esteemed marriage an honorable theme for discussion, as also an honorable custom to observe. His queries soon showed there was "method in his madness" of quizzing. If he granted an interview, he proposed to compensate himself by gaining light upon some points. This was his purpose, even when flattered by persons who asked to be allowed an interview because of his greatness.

Few Chinese officials of rank have been more approachable than this First Grand Secretary. If visitors failed to see him, it was generally due to his secretaries or attendants. He lived in the midst of conspicuous exclusiveness; but his guest-room was open to those who sought admittance, especially if they came from abroad and were properly introduced. He had no fear of espionage, neither was he afraid to express himself. One needed to be quick-witted to gain an advantage in argument with him or to obtain a knowledge of any of his secrets. He was generous in manner, but he had the faculty of keeping his own thoughts.

No doubt a large part of his friendly approachableness was due to the influence of the men around him. He knew how to secure the aid of others and to utilize the peculiar ability of each one. For nearly thirty-five years a well-read, well-balanced, accomplished American, Mr. William W. Pethick, acted as his private secretary, translating books and articles on all manner of topics. Certainly the viceroy's familiarity with all questions depended on this capable assistant, whose biography of the distinguished statesman will be the only comprehensive and standard

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one. In the negotiatons for peace between China and Japan, the Chinese envoy was aided not only by Mr. Pethick, but by the Hon. John W. Foster, and the present Chinese ministers to Washington and to the Court of St. James. In the negotiations of 1901, he was much assisted by the diversified talent of different Chinese who were his protégés; the only foreigner to help China being Sir Robert Hart, who was an official in the Chinese Government, and especially designated by the Throne to coöperate with the two Chinese plenipotentiaries.

A man of massive proportions, stupendous will, wide experience, great authority, and a large and amenable following, he was gentle and kind to children. He especially loved to see the children of his foreign friends. This weak, helpless, but intelligent old man, nearing his fourscore years and his journey to the life beyond, would insist on being supported to his feet and shaking the hand of a little one who might be his guest. This interest in children is characteristic of the Chinese, notwithstanding the ruthless massacre which closed the century.

This great man, the "Grand Old Man," entered on the twentieth century, and honorably closed a long and useful career, unparalleled in all China's history, by setting his seal to the protocol of twelve powers for the restoration of peace. His closing task was unpleasant, but no one else in China could have done better, in the face of demands supported by military occupation. The height of his power and popularity was reached from 1874 to 1894, when he was Viceroy of the Metropolitan Province, Superintendent of Northern Trade, and the undelegated but recognized Minister of Foreign Affairs; but his innate greatness was revealed even more fully during the last months of his life, when he was called upon to comply and not to dictate, and when many of his own dreams and enterprises for the good of China had been fraught with catastrophe through the folly of his own countrymen. He was quite willing to say "Farewell"; he saw but little brightness in the coming days for his beloved land. Brave, diligent, high-minded, patriotic, keen, far-seeing, unique in personality, with a grasp on the questions of the hour, born to command but ending life in a great act of submission, appreciating friends and steadfastly true to them, loving life with all its tragedy and romance, and yet resigned to the summons to depart, he stands among men as one deservedly honored, one whose memory will live in China and in all the world.

GILBERT REID.

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THE REFORMATION OF CRIMINALS.

THERE is probably no subject of greater importance to organized society than the problem of how to deal with the criminal classes so as to reduce their number and thereby prevent crime. Criminals there always will be, and hence some crime. How to minimize both deserves the best thought of the hour.

Crime is largely a matter of heredity and environment. Men seldom become criminals unaided. A few acts of crime are committed under stress of extreme necessity; but the men by whom these are committed should not be ranked with the criminal classes.

It is often said that crime is on the increase. It would be truer to say that what constitutes crime is constantly being increased by legislation. Our State Legislatures at every session pass one or more statutes, making certain acts misdemeanors which were not so before. Real crime and actual criminals are not on the increase. Professional criminals are rapidly fading away before the advancing light of civilization and education.

Punishment for crime has much to do with making criminals. This statement seems paradoxical, but it is an indisputable fact. Hundreds may be saved from a life of crime by the proper administration of the criminal laws. It used to be thought that severity of punishment was the wise course, indeed the only method, to prevent crime. Fear, no doubt, deters many; but it is not fear that must be chiefly relied upon to save men from crime. Crime existed when men were drawn and quartered, and when death was the penalty not only for murder but for many minor offences. It existed when the death penalty was inflicted in public places, and when the plucking out of an eye, the cutting off of the hand, and various other kinds of torture were common punishments. No man was ever made better by being put in the stocks. Severity is useful only in cases in which reformation is hopeless, and in which absolute removal from all social intercourse is therefore necessary.

We are rapidly coming to believe that kindness and close supervision are the best preventives of crime. There is no more cruel, in-

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human, or unwise provision than that of the New York Constitution which requires the judge to impose for a second offence double the penalty fixed by law for the crime of which the offender is convicted. It simply substitutes brute force for reason and righteousness. Criminals and penalties must both be graded. Time has demonstrated the wisdom of so doing. Until within a few years — say fifteen, as the greatest period — all the States confined convicted persons, whatever their age or offence, in the same prison, and the penalty imposed had to be served by all inmates alike for the term imposed. Such is still the case in many States. But gradually there has grown up, as a first step in criminal reformation, a system of reduction of time for good behavior. This was established at first largely as a measure to assist prison discipline. It was found to be successful in its operation, and it has led up naturally to two other systems, now existing in several States, namely, conditional pardon and parole. Conditional pardon and parole are each simply a system of granting to a prisoner, by the governor or prison board, the right to go at large, upon good behavior, while his term of imprisonment is still pending.

As a part of the parole system several States have adopted what are called — inaptly, I think — indeterminate sentences; that is, they fix all penalties with a minimum and maximum term of years. To illustrate, they provide by statute that a person convicted of larceny shall serve not less than six months or more than three years; and the judge, in sentencing, simply sentences to a certain prison or reformatory where the offender must stay six months, but may be paroled at any time after that "to be at large during good behavior."

The good effect of conditional pardon and parole statutes in the States in which they are in full operation is remarkable. In Minnesota they have an excellent parole law, and two results are claimed for it: (1) that it greatly lessens the number of severe punishments necessary to maintain a high standard of prison discipline; and (2) that it affords a humane and effective means of reaching and bringing out the better elements of the prisoners. The statistics in that State show fifty per cent less of solitary confinement cases during a given four years of the operation of the parole law than for a like number of years preceding. One hundred and seventy-seven were released on parole during the four years; only seventeen violated the conditions; and only three escaped from the State. Out of seventy-four paroled in California, only eight violated their parole; sixty-six remaining at large and doing well. Of 128 paroled in Michigan, only nine violated their parole, all others

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receiving honorable discharges. In Massachusetts and some other States the percentage of good results is even greater. Governor Voorhees, of New Jersey, mentions in his annual message to the Legislature of 1900, that of all the prisoners paroled in that State not five per cent have returned to crime.

We can easily see how this result is attained. To get the parole, the prisoner is upon his good behavior as soon as he enters the prison. It is an indispensable condition that he shall have obeyed the prison rules. And, of course, as soon as he is out on parole he must be still upon good behavior in order to remain at large; otherwise, he will be returned to the prison at once. Each paroled man is required to report monthly to the prison authorities, on prescribed forms, where he is and what he is doing, with the endorsement of his employer or some other person as to the truthfulness of his report. If he breaks his parole, he is liable to punishment, as if he escaped from prison. Hence the result, as seen in the illustrations here given, shows that but few of the prisoners leave the State. It would be too great a risk to take; because, if caught, they would be brought back, convicted, and compelled to serve out not only the remainder of the old sentence, but a severe additional one for breach of their parole.

It will thus be seen that the system holds the person paroled to rectitude of conduct from motives both of hope and of fear — hope for full pardon and continued liberty, and fear of a much more severe imprisonment if the parole is violated. It also enables him to support his family, if he has one, and relieves the public of any charge for him and his. It gives the State a citizen instead of a convict, and inculcates honesty, not only from motives of necessity, but because it is evidently the only policy that can make life a success.

Another matter of equal importance in criminal administration relates not to the confinement, but to the place of confinement. Different persons should be differently confined. Young offenders should never be confined with old or confirmed criminals. Every State should have a reformatory, wherein only persons convicted for the first time and under a certain age, say twenty-five or thirty, should be confined. Imprisonment for this class of offenders should be entirely reformatory, never punitive. Reformation, not punishment, is what the State should seek in the case of the youthful first offender. New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin already have such institutions. They are called by the name of reformatories.

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There is no work on which a State can so well afford to spend its money as that which may save the young from paths of crime, and stay the possible criminal impulse at the very threshold of life. To send an eighteen-year-old boy to the State's prison for a first offence, and condemn him to fellowship with confirmed criminals for a period of years, is a greater crime against the State than any offence that such a youth is likely to have committed. Almost every first offence of a young person is the result of environment. There are nearly always mitigating circumstances. Of course, to discharge such an offender without punishment is not possible in every case; but to send him to the State's prison is very unfortunate, if not cruel. Placing him in a reformatory, in which he will learn the value of discipline and from which he may be paroled, being taught thereby the importance of industry, good company, and honesty, is an effort on the part of the State which will probably succeed in turning such a youth into a good citizen. No cost is too great to achieve such a result. Every humane judge wishes for such an institution every sentence day.

First offenders should be made to feel that they are held in confinement for reformation only. They should never be compelled to put on a humiliating garb. They should never walk with the lock-step. They should never be punished in any degrading manner. They should be taught to hope; to feel that there are better things for them, and that their retention in the reformatory is for instruction rather than for punishment.

An address delivered some time ago by the warden of the Ohio State penitentiary contains some startling statements as to the effect of kindly prison discipline and sympathy. He said:

> I addressed myself to the moral side of the question of convict treatment and reformation. I will let the results speak for themselves. Of the 2,300 men confined in the institution, but a fraction of 100 require disciplinary punishment. And this punishment is not the paddle. Nor are men stripped naked when brought into the prison court. Their cases are as thoroughly investigated as are the charges against the citizen on the outside. The punishments inflicted are loss of good time earned, degradation in class, and solitary confinement. We have three classes: First, second, and third. The third wear stripes; the first a blue gray uniform; the second a check suit. In a population averaging more than 2,300, there are less than sixty men in the third grade or class. . . . Even the outward appearance of the prisoners shows a marked improvement. They march no more in the degrading lock-step, but in double files, like soldiers, with heads erect. Their eyes, those "windows of the soul," reflect the self-respect they feel and which it has been my constant effort to inculcate.

The reformatory for first offenders under thirty years of age is modern in all its principles of criminal reformation. One of the require-

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ments of the Act of 1899, creating the Indiana reformatory, is that the board of managers shall provide for the thorough training of each inmate in the common branches of an English education, and in such trade or handicraft work as will enable him, upon his release, to earn his own support; and shall establish and maintain and make rules for the government of common schools and trade schools. Among the rules of this reformatory is one which requires that the common-school instructor "shall examine inmates on their entering the institution as to their proficiency in the several branches of an English education, as taught in the common schools of the State, and shall assign each inmate to the class or classes he deems him best fit to enter." Another requires the trade-school instructor to "examine and determine to what manual employment each inmate should be assigned, and in which department or class in the manual training school instruction should be given."

One of the great problems of the age is how to save the young from becoming criminals. It is a much more serious question than even the ordinarily thoughtful man imagines. Personal experience, covering several years, has given the present writer convictions on this subject so strong as to be irresistible. Inquiry into the cause of the entry into crime of a boy eighteen years of age will, in almost every case, lead to information which will show that his offence was mainly due to the environment of enforced evil associations, bad home influences, or other improper surroundings. There is excuse — at least, great extenuation — for these boys. When they stand for the first time before the court it is the turning point in their lives. A term of imprisonment means a loss of self-respect and a probable assurance of a continuance in criminal association and life.

Within the last few years — less than ten — there has grown up in some States a system known as probation for first offenders. It takes the offender at the very threshold of a criminal life, and, instead of imposing a sentence of imprisonment upon him, commits him to the custody of a probation officer in whose care it permits him to remain at large. The system had its origin in the State of Massachusetts, where its admirable results have received the commendation of courts, legislatures, philanthropists, and all humane citizens. A study of the statistics of its operation has gained for the system the universal approbation of all investigators, and has produced earnest advocates for its adoption in many other States. Three States, at least, have adopted it in part within the last two years. It is pending in the legislatures of several. It will be eventually adopted in all.

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In 1900, the Legislature of New Jersey adopted the system in a very short and simple statute. The New Jersey statute is more liberal and less restricted in the powers it confers upon the court and probation officer than is that of any other State which has adopted the system. Probation is parole before sentence or imprisonment. It is the most salutary method yet devised to save men from wrecking their lives and from devoting themselves to a career of crime. It takes the first offender and gives him a chance. The operative section of the New Jersey Act reads:

> In case the record of any person convicted of crime shall in the judgment of the court so justify, it shall be lawful for the court in which the conviction is had, instead of imposing the penalty provided by law for the offence, to suspend the imposition of the penalty, and to order the person so convicted to be placed upon probation under the care of such probation officer for such time and upon such conditions as the court in its order may determine.

The court is required to establish rules for the government of the probation officer and of convicted persons committed to his care, and to enforce the observance thereof.

The results attained under the operation of this act in a single county of New Jersey — the county of Essex, in which is the large city of Newark — are most remarkable. The probation officer was appointed on April 1, 1900. Up to December 1, 1901, a period of twenty months, he had had committed to his custody 193 persons — 184 males and 9 females — and of these only 15 have broken their probation, have failed to report to the officer, or have been rearrested for additional criminal acts. Of the 193, there were 88 male and 7 female adults, 77 males and 2 females between 16 and 21 years of age, and 19 boys under 16 years of age.

The New Jersey law applies only to cases in which the offender is under accusation or indictment for crime. Hence, these 193 persons were all committed to the probation officer by the quarter sessions court; and but for this officer all would probably have served at least a short term in the penitentiary. They have been saved from that. The difference in the effect upon the future life and character of these persons is beyond estimation. It is the difference between loss of self-respect and increase of self-respect. In the one case, the State is pushing the man farther down the road of crime; in the other, it is helping him up and away from that highway.

Much of the good result of the probation system depends, as in all other agencies, upon the way it is administered and the character of the

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probation officer himself. It can be ruined by blunders or carelessness in operation. Those who enforce it must be as stern as they are humane, and as kind as they are firm. The offender should be made to feel that the State has an interest in his retrieving his error by a life of good citizenship; that the judge who has permitted him to go has done so to give him a chance to redeem himself; and that the probation officer, in whose custody he is, is full of kindness to aid him in accomplishing that result. When the system is thus worked, its beneficent results are past calculation. Crime will be lessened by the only possible method, the reduction of criminals. Any system which will hasten the advent of so desirable a result is worthy to receive the best thought of this enlightened age.

J. FRANKLIN FORT.

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THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN INDIANA.

For many years discussion has waxed and waned as to the proper method of caring for dependent children. The free-home system and the boarding-out plan have each faithful advocates. Some hold that no institution should be used; others, that there should be a combination of the institution and the family-home. The National Conference of Charities of 1899, by adopting the report of its Committee on Child-saving, ended the controversy between the institution and the family-home in favor of the latter, which it declared to be the proper and natural place for the nurture of a normal child. It has been agreed, also, that, whatever the system of care, supervision is necessary.

Needy children are to be found in every community, and Legislatures have enacted laws designed to give them the chance in life which would otherwise be denied them. As a result of these laws various agencies have been organized for the care of such children. Their work has been more or less perfect, according to circumstances. Supervision of the work on the part of the State has appeared to be a plain necessity; but what the best method of supervision may be is an open question. Attention is centred at present on Indiana, which is engaged in working out the problem under conditions peculiarly its own. A study of the experience of that State will show both the necessity for State supervision and its value.

In this paper, the word "dependent" is used to designate children cared for at the public expense, other than those in reformatory institutions, or in schools for the education of the deaf, the blind, or the feeble-minded. These exceptions, together with the dependent children of soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, are cared for in State institutions at State expense. Dependence may be the result of orphanage, neglect, ill-treatment, poverty, or abandonment. The care of dependent children includes their rescue from the place of suffering, their temporary maintenance and training, and their establishment in surroundings suitable for the development of respectable, self-supporting citizens. Full State supervision would naturally include such work as would give to the

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central authority a complete knowledge of each child requiring public care, and would secure to him just and proper treatment at every step.

The law providing for State supervision in Indiana was enacted by the Legislature of 1897, and vested authority in a State agency to be appointed and controlled by the Board of State Charities. The organization of the work began on April 1, 1897, with the appointment of a State agent. On May 1, 1899, a second agent was placed in the field, and on June 1, 1901, a third was employed. The duties and powers of these agents are set forth in the following extract from the law:

> Every such agent shall have the right, and it shall be his duty, to inspect asylums carried on under this Act, and to report the result of every such inspection to such Board and to the Board of County Commissioners interested therein. He shall seek out proper permanent homes for the children of such asylums, or who are in charge of such associations, as are hereinbefore specified. He shall visit children for whom he has procured permanent homes, and, when practicable, other children indentured or otherwise placed in family-homes by any association. Such agent shall apportion the permanent homes found by him among the dependent children in the various counties in such a manner as equitably to distribute his services. He shall keep a complete, itemized record of his work, and shall report concerning the care, condition, and education of every child visited by him to the association or Board of Commissioners from which it was received, and to the Board of State Charities, and if at any time he is convinced that any child under his supervision is not receiving proper care and treatment, he shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to remove such child from the home in which it has been placed and return it to the association or county from which it came.

The principle obtains in Indiana that each community shall care for its own poor. In the matter of temporary care, the cost of maintenance is charged against the smallest political division, the township. Permanent maintenance, however, is made a charge against the next larger division, the county. To that end, each county is authorized, by statute, to have within its limits what is known as a county orphan asylum, or to join with one or more other counties in the maintenance of such an asylum. This asylum must be wholly distinct and apart from the county almshouse, and under entirely separate management. Dependent children under sixteen years of age are sent to it. The law of the State provides that no child between the ages of three and seventeen years may be maintained in an almshouse longer than sixty days, and makes it incumbent upon the Board of County Commissioners to provide for the care of dependent children otherwise, under penalty of prosecution for malfeasance of office.

There are three methods of administering these orphan asylums. Their ownership is vested either in the county, or in an incorporated association, or in an individual. If owned by the county, the asylum is

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in charge of an association, incorporated under the Voluntary Association Act, or of a matron, employed by the Board of County Commissioners. If it is in charge of an association, it receives from the county for the care of each child that may be placed in the asylum the sum of twenty-five cents per diem. If it is in charge of a matron, she is paid this sum and furnishes everything; or she is paid a regular salary, while the county furnishes everything. One asylum in the State is owned by an individual, who makes a specialty of caring for and training so-called incorrigibles. Her compensation for this work is also the sum of twenty-five cents each per diem. Whatever may be the method of payment for the care of the children, the payment carries with it the obligation to furnish proper support, clothing, and moral and other training; also to seek out suitable family homes in which healthy children shall be placed on indenture or by adoption, their welfare while in these families being secured through visits and reports.

There are ninety-two counties in the State, and at the time of the organization of the State agency there were forty-four orphan asylums receiving public wards. Some others have since been built, and three abandoned. There are at present fifty asylums engaged in the work. All children supported by taxes, except the delinquents, the deaf, the blind, the feeble-minded, and soldiers' and sailors' orphans, are in these institutions. The total number now present in the orphan asylums is very nearly 1,700. The number in almshouses is about sixty, about half of whom are babes. The others are awaiting transfer to other institutions, under the law. It may be interesting to note that on August 31, 1891, there were 454 children in the almshouses of the State.

The following persons are authorized to make children public charges: The Judge of the Circuit Court, the County Board of Children's Guardians, the Board of County Commissioners, the Township Trustee, and the President of an incorporated Orphans' Home Association. The last authority admits children to the asylum on a written release of all rights to them executed by the parents; the Board of Commissioners and the Township Trustee commit the children as paupers; the Judge of the Circuit Court holds authority in the matter by reason of his plenary jurisdiction over all minors, and the Board of Children's Guardians through statutory provision, acting under order of the Court. The latter organization needs more than a passing mention, for on it devolves the rescue of ill-treated and neglected children. Its real work is not with dependents, though it sometimes takes charge of them. This board, which is appointed by the Circuit Judge, consists of six members, all of

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whom must be parents, and three of whom must be women. They receive no pay. Through its officers, paid by the county, the board investigates all cases of alleged neglect or ill-treatment; and if it cannot induce the parents to live decent lives and care for and control their children so that they will not suffer for want of the necessaries of life or grow up a menace to the State, it petitions the Court for custody of the children during minority. The petition is heard in the regular order of court procedure; and the custody of the children is granted or refused according to the evidence, the best interest of the child being a factor in the consideration. When children are once assigned to the custody of the board, their care and disposition correspond with those of pure dependents.

State supervision begins after a child is made a public charge by some one of the above authorities, and continues until he reaches the age of eighteen, unless by adoption or otherwise he previously ceases to be a public ward. As long as he is in an orphan's home, or in a family-home, on indenture, up to the above-mentioned age, he is subject to the watchfulness of the State agency.

Under the Indiana laws, the following authorities, besides parents, may place children by indenture or adoption: (1) *State Institutions:* The Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, the Reform School for Boys, and the State Industrial School for Girls. (2) *County Authorities:* The Judge of the Circuit Court, the Board of Children's Guardians, the Board of County Commissioners, the Township Trustee, the Matron of the Orphan Asylum, and the Orphans' Home Association. (3) *Other Authorities:* Endowed Institutions, Church Institutions, Secret Order Institutions, and Private Individuals.

All the above authorities, and, perhaps, one or two others, undertake to care for children and place them in family-homes in the State. Formerly, outside corporations or associations placed large numbers of children in the State; but, while they may still do so under certain restrictions, few outside children are now being brought in.

The spirit of the law, as well as its letter, anticipates that the State agency shall supervise the placing-out work of all the above-mentioned authorities, in addition to keeping a close watch of the care given to the children in the asylums caring for the dependents. The regular asylums, the Boards of Children's Guardians, the Almshouse Superintendents, and the Township Trustees are required to keep the State agency informed of all their operations. The other authorities may claim the assistance of the agency in looking after their wards, if they see fit to

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inform it as to their location. In practice, the agency visits and reports upon the condition of every public ward known to be in a family-home.

In the beginning of the work, it was found that each association had been, in practice, a law unto itself in the matter of placing and supervising the children. In few cases was there any system or order in the work, much less any careful record. Each asylum placed its children where and with whom it pleased, and looked after them as it pleased. The laws and by-laws of all were full of good and sufficient rules for the conduct of the work; and had these laws been strictly enforced, the results would have been good. But while it is easy to make a rule, it is often difficult to follow it, especially when there is nobody to compel one to do so. The preliminary investigation of an applicant's fitness to care for a child consisted, as a rule, in securing written recommendations from various persons, frequently from public officials who would give testimonials to any one who voted for their party. Less than six organizations made a practice of actually examining an applicant's home personally before entrusting a child to his care. Less than that number regularly visited the children after they were placed. It certainly seemed that some authorities supposed any sort of a home to be good enough for a child, and believed that after he was placed in that home he would need no further attention.

Many cases could be cited to illustrate the result of careless methods. One day a man who presented written recommendations, signed by county officials, asked for a girl, selected one, and was allowed to take her away with him. Three days afterward a letter reached the association saying: "You had better come and see where you have placed your girl." The matron went instantly and found that the child was living with a saloon-keeper, whose home was above his saloon and was a house of bad character. In another case a man presented himself to the official head of an association, giving as references, orally only, prominent citizens known to the said official. He was allowed to select and take with him a thirteen-year-old girl. The official, however, neglected to secure either the name of the applicant or his residence, and to this day it is not known what has become of the child. Not a few cases have been discovered of the giving of fictitious names or residences. Much time and money have been expended in attempts to trace such persons. Occasionally, with the best of supervision, a child will disappear with its guardian, and its whereabouts will be unknown for a while. But when a man gives his post-office as Martinsville, and no one can be found in that city, or elsewhere in the same county, who has ever

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heard of him, it is pretty good evidence that there has been deception somewhere.

In the beginning of the organization of the plan of State supervision, the following rules were formulated for the government of the work of the State agency: (1) That no applicant's home should be finally approved until a representative of the agency had personally visited it and had had a conference with the family — this, in addition to the necessary outside inquiries. (2) That no child should be entrusted to an applicant until his home had been so approved. (3) That no child should be allowed to travel alone on the railroads. The prevailing custom had been to send a child to his new home in the care of conductors, with a tag pinned to his coat. (4) That each child should be so fitted out with clothing as to present a respectable appearance, and should have enough to keep him comfortable during the trial period of sixty days, and that the extra clothing should be put up in a neat little telescope; the idea being that the children should travel in such a manner that they would not be known as asylum children. It had previously been the custom to put the extra clothing in a bundle or a market basket. (5) That every child should be visited at least once a year, and oftener, if possible. The system of visiting the children had been little practised. One girl was recently found who had never been visited, though she had been in her home nine years. (6) That each guardian should send one written report a year as to the condition of his ward.

As these were believed to be good rules for all engaged in placing children, their adoption by all the agencies was urged by personal interviews, in the annual conferences, and in the publications of the board. The State agency has consistently practised them from the beginning, and in nearly all cases has visited three times a year on an average the children it has placed. Some of the associations adopted these rules at once, to the manifest advantage of the children placed by them. Others, chafing under what they were pleased to call interference with their work and objecting to any sort of supervision, continued to work in the old haphazard way. And, although the State agency was organized April 1, 1897, it is but recently that the last of the associations has swung into line and acknowledged the advantages of such rules. The following is an extract from a letter received a short time ago:

> Please allow me to thank you for information in a letter addressed to Mrs. W. in regard to the home of Mr. P. and wife, near J., Ind. It prompted the Board to send me to investigate the home, and it did not take me one minute to decide to bring

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the child home with me. In the future, if we have applications for children from persons we do not know, we will confer with you, or make personal examination ourselves.

It might be said, in passing, that this home had been before the State agency three different times, twice in the way of regular investigation, and once to remove a child whom the organization had placed there. A minute in the department's records reads as follows:

P. about fifty, wife about twenty. Slouchy and dirty. Own nothing but a little furniture. Live on a rented sand-hill farm and pay no rent.

It needs but a glance at the list of those authorized by law to care for dependent children to appreciate the possibilities of a system of interchange of courtesies. Under the old régime there was a total lack of coöperation between the various agencies. Each association worked for its own little world, wholly ignoring its opportunities for greater good. Petty jealousies existed and sharp criticisms were made. Rarely would one association take any interest in the work of another, with a view to being helpful. The State made an earnest attempt to unite these warring interests, in order that, as a whole, it might profit by the experience of each. In this effort there has been marked success, and the majority of the agencies are now working in harmony and aiding each other through the State agency. The following are some of the special benefits to be noted:

(1) Many applications for children come to an asylum in which there are no inmates answering the description of those desired. Such applications were formerly placed on file, in the expectation that at some future time there might be brought in a child that would suit. Frequently they remained permanently in the pigeon-hole, so that no child received the benefit of the home. Under the new plan, such applications are sent to the office of the State agent to be distributed among all the asylums. Some local organizations have sent in as many as thirty such applications per year.

(2) The local asylums furnish valuable assistance in the supervision of the children placed in their counties. This is possible because it is now the practice to confer with them relative to such cases, and to inform them of the location of the children. If there is apparent any ill-treatment of a placed-out ward, information is carried by neighbors to the local association, and the association in turn informs the State agency. Quite recently word came from an association in the Southern part of the State that a family was preparing to move to the far West and take the child with it. This was not in itself particularly objectionable; but

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the further information was added that the child was not being treated properly and did not herself wish to go with the family. This enabled the agency to checkmate the family's plans.

(3) Perhaps the greatest benefit from this coöperation is that it opens up the whole State to each agency, and makes it possible to place the children at a distance from their old environment. Some children may be successfully placed in the environment where they originally became dependent; others need to be taken far away, in order that they may be relieved of the importunities and influence of relatives and former acquaintances. Formerly the association was practically, if not theoretically, confined to its own county in placing its children. Now it has the whole State at its command. There is also a statutory provision that an association may keep secret the location of such of its wards as it has placed in family-homes. The object of this is, of course, to prevent parents or relatives from interfering with the management of the children — a thing that would be most likely to occur if they knew where to find the child. Formerly it was thought necessary to take a child to a distant State in order to avoid interference. It is now possible to place within the State a sufficient distance between the child's new home and his original surroundings. In addition to the prevention of interference, there is another advantage accruing to the children themselves by their being placed in unfamiliar surroundings, namely, that of a complete change in their manner of life. Old habits need to be broken up, and new and healthful mental, moral, and physical life must replace the old. This can be best accomplished in an entirely new environment and among strangers. There is frequently in the care of an association a child with such a peculiar temperament that if a proper home is not found the child's future will be grievously marred. By this cooperative plan such a child can be readily fitted into the proper family.

To make State supervision of the highest possible value, an adequate system of accurate records must be kept. It must include not only information, both family and personal, relative to the children to be cared for, but must represent a sort of a secret-service bureau, containing confidential information about applicants. Such records are a matter of slow but constant growth. Those relating to the children are made up from monthly reports from the asylums, including reports of visits to children, reports from guardians, and reports from the State's agents. For recording this information a card system is used, a numbered card being assigned to each child under State care. The number refers to a filing envelope in which all reports and other important papers touching that

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child's case are kept. On the card is recorded in brief all information relative to the child — his characteristics, his family history, and his history while a public ward. The full particulars are given by the papers in the filing envelope. These cards are arranged alphabetically. In addition, to facilitate the work, there is a card registration showing the location of the wards arranged according to the names of the guardians; also one arranged by the post-offices of the counties in which the guardians live.

The card system is also used for recording information relative to applicants for children. Whenever an application is received it is numbered; and on a card of the same number are recorded the names of the applicant and his wife, together with the post-office address and such other brief information as may be of use later. When the agent has made the investigation further brief information is added to the card, together with a note of the date of the investigation. All papers relating to the said application are numbered according to the application and placed in a numerical file. When a letter of inquiry is received, reference is made to these cards, and it is frequently found that full information relative to the applicant is already at hand. Recently one of the agents visited a ward, and found that the guardian had sold his farm and bought a saloon. His card now makes record as follows: "10–1901. Sold farm and gone into saloon business. Child removed." A constant record is thus kept of each applicant; new information being added to his card as it reaches the office.

In this brief recital of the experience of Indiana, no attempt has been made to enunciate any new principles on child-saving, but illustrations have been given to show the value of State supervision. If the system did nothing but superintend the work of the various agencies, by visiting the children, aiding in the transfer of misfits, and rescuing ill-treated wards, it would be well worth its cost to the State. But it does more than this. It is also charged with the duty of seeking out suitable family homes for the children in the various asylums. Since its organization it has received about 1,400 applications, and has a record of nearly 1,200 that it has investigated. It has placed and replaced 973 children, of whom 649 are still in the care of private individuals. In addition to its other work, the agency is now placing on an average about one child a day. The cost of supporting a child in an asylum for a year is, in round numbers, $100. On the basis of a gain of but 200 a year removed from dependence on public support, the agency is saving to the State, annually, $20,000 for each $6,000 expended. A child

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ceases to be a public ward at the age of eighteen. The average period that elapses after a child is removed from dependence on public support until he reaches the age of eighteen, is about eight years. Hence, the actual saving to the State for each $6,000 expended is approximately $160,000. The sum of $6,000 is mentioned because that is the amount appropriated at present for the support of the State agency. It has to pay the salaries and travelling expenses of its three workers, as well as the office expenses of the department.

These figures are based upon actual experience, but they by no means represent the full extent of the agency's capacity. Nor do they take into consideration the large number of children taken out of the asylums by parents and relatives, when they know that the State agent may come at any time and remove their children to distant parts of the State. In one county, where forty-four children had been the average population of the asylum for several years, the State agent selected ten to go into families. Nine others were immediately taken out by relatives, some of whom, strange as it may seem, had arranged with the associations to let them know when homes were offered for the children, so that they might then take them themselves. In another home there were seven children, representing two families. The State agent notified the association that he could place one from each family at once. Relatives took the whole seven as soon as they heard of what was proposed.

The law makes it the duty of the associations to require, from parents allowing their children to become public wards, an absolute release of the children to the association. The Board of State Charities has insisted that the associations shall live up to the letter of that law, with the result that hundreds of children have been retained in the hands of their natural guardians, instead of becoming public wards. When such parents found that placing their children in the asylum meant that they could not have them at will, they decided that they could care for their own. Before the passage of this law, it was quite usual for shiftless parents to put their children in an orphan asylum, where they would be cared for at the public expense, while they themselves, relieved of this burden, would go off for indefinite periods, secure in the knowledge that their children were all right, and that whenever they chose to return they could get them back.

The careful and frequent inspection of orphan asylums has produced good results in their administration. No longer are Dotheboys Halls to be found in the State. A corresponding inspection of almshouses keeps them free of children. WILLIAM B. STREETER.

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ERRORS TOUCHING THE SCHLEY COURT OF INQUIRY.

THE Court of Inquiry, of which Admiral George Dewey was president, and which sat recently in the city of Washington for the purpose of investigating the conduct of Rear-Admiral Winfield Scott Schley during the war with Spain, was the most illustrious and important military tribunal ever assembled in this country. The personnel of the court, the prominence of "the applicant," and the gravity and far-reaching effect of the cause submitted to it for adjudication united to bestow upon this particular tribunal an importance which may be likened only to that of the court which tried and, under compulsion of the law, condemned Admiral Byng, of the British navy, to death.

The Navy Department and the court itself seemed in the earlier days of the inquiry to be duly appreciative of this importance. The members were selected with an especial view to their freedom from partiality and prejudice, and, confessedly, with the idea of winning in advance the confidence of the public in the justice and righteousness of the report which, after painstaking research and mature deliberation, was to be submitted to the convening authority. The original membership of the court exemplified this. There could not have been found three men more entirely free from bias than Admiral Dewey and Rear-Admirals Benham and Kimberly, retired. Public confidence in the impartial purpose of the Navy Department received a shock through the revelation of Rear-Admiral Howison's prejudice, a revelation following fast upon his appointment to succeed Admiral Kimberly, who asked to be relieved of service; but the court, mindful of its high position, instantly retrieved the error by excusing Admiral Howison from duty, and the Department's selection of Rear-Admiral F. M. Ramsay, retired, was generally applauded.

Thus constituted, the court enjoyed the public confidence as a body composed of men of judicial temperament, exemplary fairness, unsullied record, and adequate experience. An unhesitating trust was reposed in its impartiality, a trust it did not fail to augment in the first days of the public inquiry by its rulings upon mooted points. During the forty

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days of this inquiry nothing occurred to shake this confidence. The court proceeded about its work deliberately and intelligently, never for a moment showing the slightest inclination either toward "the applicant" or away from him. Its sense of its dignity and importance was always apparent; its sessions were notable for their solemnity; and it labored incessantly with no revealed purpose other than an ever-present desire to get at "the facts." Some there were who disputed its wisdom and justice in limiting the inquiry so as not to touch upon the conduct of any officer other than "the applicant"; but surely that was a matter lying wholly within its discretion as an investigating body, and in its decision in this respect "the applicant," by counsel, cheerfully acquiesced. This acquiescence was due to the fact that Rear-Admiral Schley sought neither to impugn the motives nor to criticise the conduct of any other officer; his sole purpose being to elicit all the facts touching his own conduct, and to have them passed upon by his brothers in arms, in whom he had full and unreserved confidence.

So it was that the court was created, and so it labored. When at the end of the public inquiry it retired behind closed doors to deliberate, interest in the court did not abate. When the doors were once more opened and there issued the report agreed upon by the court, there followed immediately an almost unparalleled outburst of popular indignation. The report was contrary to what the people expected and what they believed the testimony to warrant; and merciless revilings and unstinted criticisms have been the court's reward. Two of its members especially have received visitations of the public wrath; the reaction consequent upon so unexpected a finding leading to the oft-repeated charge that, from the beginning, those two members were prejudiced against "the applicant" and hostile to him.

But while having nothing to do with such an accusation against the two officers referred to, Rear-Admiral Schley and his attorneys absolutely decline to accept either the court's finding of fact or its majority opinion as being in consonance with the evidence adduced during the public investigation, or the solemn duty entrusted to the court.

This plain statement calls, naturally and necessarily, for explanation, and prompts the query: To what, then, do "the applicant" and his counsel attribute the findings of the court? The answer is ready. The action of the court was based upon premises that were fundamentally false. This answer explains the refusal of Rear-Admiral Schley to accept quietly the judgment which has been rendered against him. The falsity referred to is traceable directly to the fact, now apparent, that

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both the Navy Department and the Court of Inquiry confounded the nature of the latter with that of a court-martial, and failed to differentiate between the extraordinary character of this particular court and the character of an ordinary court of inquiry. Let us look at the facts.

Courts of inquiry are authorized by act of Congress. With the act of Congress as a foundation, the Navy Department has, from time to time, promulgated regulations prescribing the character, methods of procedure, and powers of courts of inquiry, until at the present time the official volume of "Regulations for the Government of the Navy of the United States" contains a formidable chapter devoted to this subject. These regulations amplify the act of Congress. They thus correspond to the statute as to the identity of the convening authority, as well as the number of members and the general powers of courts of inquiry. But as departmental rules for the guidance of bodies authorized by law, the regulations alone define the conditions and circumstances under which courts of inquiry may be convened. It is under these rules, and according to the ends to which they have uniformly been put, that the naval service has come to interpret the nature and province of courts of inquiry. The statutes and their original contemplation of the character of such bodies have been almost, if not entirely, lost sight of. This is clearly evidenced by the very first regulation dealing with courts of inquiry. It is therein declared that, where the facts are numerous and complicated, or where there is reason to suspect criminality, a court of inquiry affords the easiest and best method for determining the facts and elucidating the situation for the better guidance and fuller information of the Department.

How ancient this regulation may be I am not prepared to say; but its effect is apparent to the most casual student of such matters. Under the regulation, courts of inquiry have come to be regarded by the service as mere advisory boards to the Department or to other executive officers of the naval establishment. The authorities, under a long line of precedents, agree that such courts are powerless to utter judgments, inflict penalties, express opinions, or pass sentences; that, in short, they are incapable of finally determining any mooted question. This limitation upon their power, in our military jurisprudence, unquestionably springs from the fact that, under the statutes, courts of inquiry, unless expressly authorized by their convening authority so to do, are inhibited from expressing opinions; their duty being restricted to the discovery and collation of facts. Considered jointly, this regulation and the statute have had the effect of making courts of inquiry almost uniformly preliminary to

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courts-martial. In other words, the court of inquiry corresponds in ordinary American military practice to the grand jury in our judicial system.

Being essentially an inquisitorial body, whose duty it is to sift fact from fancy and report what is established as true, it follows that, ordinarily, the action of a court of inquiry is in no wise determinate. It labors solely for the information and guidance of a higher authority. According as it presents an array of facts justifying punitive measures against the officer under investigation, or exonerates him, the higher authority is enabled to act more intelligently in the premises. It rests, however, with such higher authority to take or refrain from taking further action; the report of the court of inquiry being in no way binding upon him. A notable instance of this analogy between courts of inquiry and grand juries is of recent occurrence. Charges having been preferred against a colonel of the Marine Corps, a court of inquiry was ordered to determine the facts (truth or falsity) of such charges. The court labored and brought forth a report upon which the Secretary of the Navy prepared a precept (indictment) for the guidance of a court-martial convened to try the accused officer. Here the procedure was almost identical with that in criminal jurisprudence, where the grand jury investigates, the state's attorney indicts upon the facts found by the grand jury, and a competent court tries the accused under and according to the indictment. The almost constant use of courts of inquiry for purposes very similar to, or identical with, its use in the case mentioned has impregnated every officer in the service with this conception of an order for duty on such a court. He goes forth to inquire, not to determine finally.

But in the case of the Schley Court of Inquiry a wholly different procedure was followed; and, consequently, the nature and province of the court were radically different from those of such a body in ordinary cases. It was because this dissimilarity was not impressed upon the court by the convening authority that the fundamental error with which it is chargeable was committed. Conscious of the statutory inhibition of the trial of an accused by court-martial when more than two years have elapsed since the commission of the offence with which he is charged, the Navy Department well knew that, in this instance, further proceedings were impossible, no matter what facts the court might find. Neither upon his own request nor upon the election of the Department could Rear-Admiral Schley be arraigned before a court-martial. The Department, therefore, abandoned entirely the ordinary usage and ac-

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ceptation of courts of inquiry. Availing itself of the latitude allowed by statute to the convening authority to direct a court of inquiry to report its opinion upon the facts found, it so constructed the Schley Court of Inquiry as to make it, in reality, a court-martial.

The most cursory examination of the authority under which this court sat proves the foregoing proposition as to its extraordinary nature. This authority was conferred by a duly issued precept, the same, in substance, as governs in the case of courts-martial. This grant of authority had two separate and distinct phases. Unlike precepts governing ordinary courts of inquiry, it did not direct the court to discover and collate the facts with respect to certain formal charges. The duty it imposed upon the court was to "inquire into the conduct of the said Schley, commodore in the navy during the recent war with Spain, and in connection with the events thereof." And when the court had conducted and concluded such inquiry, it was directed to "report . . . a full and detailed statement of all the pertinent facts which it may deem to be established, together with its opinions and recommendations in the premises." Bearing in mind the statutory interdiction, in this particular case, of any further proceedings which might follow an ordinary court of inquiry, we readily see the extraordinary nature of the Schley Court of Inquiry.

The court was endowed with most unusual powers. Instead of advising the convening authority by a clear and logical exposition of fact, its action had, perforce, to be final and determinate. The recommendation called for by the precept could, under the statute, be none other than one for the discontinuance of proceedings in the premises. This of itself was sufficient to foreordain the required opinion of the court as a solemn judgment upon the conduct of "the applicant," a judgment pronounced by experts in the light of established facts. Barred from passing any sentence of degradation or corporal punishment, the court might, if it so determined, place a mark against the record of "the applicant," thereby inflicting a keener punishment, and one more difficult to bear, than any which does not touch a man's honor. Such a judgment lies only within the province of a court-martial to utter; hence, when it was required of this court the requirement transformed it into a court-martial in all but name. If any doubt obtains as to the extraordinary character of this court, it is only necessary to look for a moment at the Department's letter of August 1, 1901, amending the fifth specification of the precept. Admiral Schley objected to the Department's unqualified assumption of his guilt under the charge that he had disobeyed orders, and asked that

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the court be left free to determine the question of guilt. In reply, the Department conferred upon the court plenary powers to render an opinion which should be final and conclusive.

The other phase of this precept, regarded by counsel for Admiral Schley as most remarkable, even more strongly emphasizes the court-martial-like character of this celebrated court of inquiry. After directing an inquiry into the conduct of "the applicant" during a given period, a direction sweeping enough to include his every act during that period, the precept goes infinitely farther. Ten specifications, each one covering a specific act or series of actions, were incorporated in the document. No better explanation of the nature of these specifications can be presented than that given in the Department's letter of August 1, previously referred to. This letter says:

> . . . . the precept treats certain matters as established, such, for instance, as the arrival of the "Flying Squadron" off Cienfuegos and off Santiago; the retrograde movement westward; the turn of the *Brooklyn* on July 3, 1898, and the fact that you disobeyed orders, etc.

This explanation permits of but one construction. The precept was, in reality, a reverse indictment. The Department, acting upon its own initiative and without the usual intervention of a court of inquiry to determine the facts, selected ten "matters" which it characterized and defined to the court "as established" facts. Under such a precept the court was required not to determine these facts, but to accept them "as established," and to impose upon "the applicant" the burden of disproving them, or exculpating himself of any charge made under them. Does doubt still linger as to whether this particular body was a court of inquiry, or, by whatever name called, a court-martial in point of reality? There is little room for doubt as to its actual character when we contemplate the spectacle of its endowment with final jurisdiction, its authorization to pass a final judgment of expert opinion, and its operation under a grant of power more general than was ever communicated to a court-martial — a grant which, contrary to the ordinary rules of evidence, placed the burden of proof upon the defendant instead of upon the Government. The creation of a court so extraordinary in its nature, power, and methods constitutes one of the chief errors touching the Schley Court of Inquiry.

But the original fundamental error, and the first wholly false premise, is discovered in the first action of the Department in the matter. The Department had an undeniable right to convene a court of inquiry to ascertain the facts and report its opinions. But did it possess the right,

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without self-stultification and a distortion of judicial methods and procedure, to convene a court after the manner by which this particular court was convened? The facts are simple.

Winfield Scott Schley served in the navy during the war with Spain as a commodore. In April, 1899, the year following that war, he was proposed for promotion to the grade of rear-admiral. At the time this additional honor was proposed for him, all the facts relating to his conduct during the time he had held the rank of commodore were public property and matters of official record. In February, 1899, the Secretary of the Navy addressed a letter to the President of the Senate of the United States, in which the attention of that body was called to certain grave instances of dereliction of duty and disobedience to orders alleged to have been committed by Commodore Schley during the war with Spain. This letter, in so far as it related to that officer, closed with the pronouncement of the Secretary's opinion that during the war Commodore Schley's conduct had been characterized by "unsteadiness in purpose and in push, and failure to obey orders." It embodied also an approval of the charge of "reprehensible conduct" made by another against the Commodore.

Now, preliminary to his nomination to be a rear-admiral, Commodore Schley was required by law to undergo an examination in order that his "moral, mental, and professional fitness" for the higher and more important rank might be determined. The law and the regulations relative to this procedure are explicit and mandatory. The board which examined Commodore Schley was presided over by the late Rear-Admiral Montgomery Sicard, who, by reason of having served, during the war with Spain, as a member of the Naval War Board, popularly known as the Board of Strategy, was especially familiar with the conduct of Commodore Schley. To this examining board the Navy Department was compelled to submit every scrap of information it possessed touching the "moral, mental, and professional fitness" of the candidate for promotion. By the regulations of the navy the onus of establishing professional fitness falls upon the candidate; and any member of the examining board who, after a full and complete investigation, may entertain any doubt as to such professional fitness is forbidden to sign a report recommending that the promotion be made.

At the time when this examining board sat, Commodore Schley's conduct during the war with Spain was known, in its minutest details, to the Navy Department; and, in view of the letter written two months previously, it must have been fresh in the mind of the Secretary. All those "matters" which the precept under which the Schley Court of

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Inquiry sat treats "as established" were of official record in the Department, with the single exception of the Hodgson affair, which had not then transpired. These "established matters" had, under the law, to be considered by the examining board in determining the professional fitness of the candidate for promotion; and they were undoubtedly as firmly established in April, 1899, as they were in July, 1901. Further, the power of the examining board to inquire into and apply such "established matters" was infinitely greater than that of any court of inquiry; for whereas the latter may only determine facts, the former may make an application of any facts it may determine against the officer under investigation to the extent of forbidding his promotion.

It is a matter of official record that the board which examined Commodore Schley for promotion did inquire into all the facts characterized in the first nine specifications of the precept as "established matters"; and, after carefully weighing them, they pronounced him professionally fit, and recommended him, for promotion. The Secretary of the Navy accepted and approved this report and recommendation, thereby reversing his own judgment as to Commodore Schley's dereliction of duty, disobedience of orders, unsteadiness in push and in purpose, and reprehensible conduct. That the Secretary did work such a reversal of himself is demonstrated by the fact that, after the examining board reported, Commodore Schley was recommended by him to the President for promotion; was nominated to the Senate by the President; and was confirmed by the Senate to be a rear-admiral in the navy, with the relative rank, under the Personnel Bill, of a major-general in the army.

Yet, in the face of the fact that this entire matter of Commodore Schley's conduct was finally and legally determined in April, 1899, the Navy Department, in July, 1901, formulated a reverse indictment against him, in which eight distinct phases of his conduct during the war with Spain, embracing the whole range of alleged shortcomings specified by the Secretary of the Navy in his letter of February 6, 1899, to the President of the Senate, are characterized as "established matters." Was the action of the Department in transmitting such a grant of authority to the court of inquiry legal? Without desiring to discuss any farther this detail of a case already grown most intricate, we leave it with these general observations:

(1) The determination by the examining board in April, 1899, of any one of the eight distinct phases of Commodore Schley's conduct, as defined in the precept as "established matters," in a decision adverse to

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him would have necessitated his arraignment before a court-martial, and then, had they been substantiated, the verdict could easily have been for his dismissal from the service. In one instance, an adverse determination would have meant the infliction of the death penalty.

(2) That none of these phases of his conduct during the war with Spain was determined adversely to him by the examining board is the best possible proof that in April, 1899, they were not only not "established matters," but were deemed by a board of competent jurisdiction to have no existence, since if they had existed Commodore Schley's promotion to higher and more important rank could not have been accomplished.

(3) Thoughtful men will be disposed to consider that the approval given by the Secretary of the Navy in 1899 to the report of the examining board worked an estoppel against the revival in 1901 of the charges embraced in his letter to the Senate.

(4) If the so-called "established matters" had any actual existence in 1901, they must have existed in 1899; and it, therefore, became at that time the duty of the Secretary of the Navy to substantiate them before the examining board. If they were actually in existence and were permitted to pass unsubstantiated, or if the examining board knowing of their existence failed to give them due consideration, then by the connivance of the Secretary of the Navy, the examining board, the President of the United States, and the Senate, "the applicant" before the recent court of inquiry has for nearly three years illegally enjoyed the rank, privileges, and emoluments of a rear-admiral in our navy; for, be it understood, a determination of any one of these charges adversely to Commodore Schley would have made an affirmative declaration of his professional fitness, without which he could not have been promoted, impossible and wholly illegal.

In the light of these facts, the original fundamental error in this case, an error chargeable to the Navy Department, makes itself manifest. Its action in creating and convening a pseudo-court-martial for the purpose of inquiring into certain "established matters" which had previously, it is to be presumed, been inquired into by a competent authority and found to have no actual existence was unquestionably arguable on the ground of illegality, if it was not *ultra vires*. With this original and fundamental error made apparent, it is debatable if the entire proceedings and findings of the court might not be annulled if any one interested were disposed to proceed upon this hypothesis. But even without an attack of the kind indicated being made, the Department's original error will

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stand as the fundamental and irremediable weakness of the judgment given by the court.

The errors and false premises in the original action of the Navy Department in creating the court and devising its grant of authority having been thus shown, we come now to the errors, gravest of all, which must be charged against the court itself. These have nothing to do with the public inquiry. In that part of this lamentable affair the action of the court was such that no exception may be taken to it. Having what it was bound to assume to be a lawful grant of power, for no contrary suggestion had been advanced, it proceeded intelligently, regularly, and decorously in its search for facts. In form and substance that portion of its work stands above criticism.

The public inquiry, however, has been almost entirely forgotten in the light of the official statement of facts found and opinions determined upon. These things, constituting the conclusions of the court, overtop in importance everything else. Of all its work they alone will stand in history as guides for future generations; and it is in relation to them that the court has erred so egregiously. The error is of sufficient magnitude to cause it to permeate almost every line of a somewhat voluminous document. Its very size forbids the thought that it was wilfully committed.

The customary service conception of the nature and province of courts of inquiry has been already explained. To that explanation only a few words need be added. This conception is securely engrafted upon the service until it has now come to be regarded as one of its tenets. It is, therefore, not strange that men of long experience should fail to grasp readily another idea of a body which is officially styled a court of inquiry. To enable them to do so, it is necessary, in extraordinary cases, that they be firmly impressed with the extraordinary character of such a court; and this impression must be kept constantly in mind by the members, else they are likely to come to regard their duty as identical with what it would be in connection with a common court. It is patent that either the members were not properly impressed with the extraordinary nature of the Schley Court of Inquiry, or that they unwittingly lapsed into the customary conception of such bodies. This is attested by the report of facts and opinions, for therein the court reveals its error in this manner: it has found the facts as would a court of inquiry, and has given the judgment of a court-martial.

The effect of this confusion in the minds of the members as to the exact character of their duties cannot be, and is not, concealed. The court has failed to garb its findings in the robes of finality. This failure

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is so extensive that in not a single instance did the court render a determinate judgment, securely buttressed against the walls of reason and logic, as a court-martial would have done under similar circumstances. In other words, the court submitted a report which, while stating certain opinions, shows upon its face that little or no attention was paid to what in law is known as "the preponderance of proof."

The method of the court's action may be easily analyzed. The precept required it to report the pertinent facts which it might deem to be established. When it came to formulate this statement of facts, it sat as a common court of inquiry. It did not — and we must judge by the report itself — deem it necessary to incorporate in the statement a single one of the many facts favorable to Rear-Admiral Schley, facts which were established by an overwhelming weight of testimony, in numerous instances by uncontradicted testimony. The statement contains only facts adverse to "the applicant." In this it is the report of an ordinary court of inquiry which seeks not to elicit all the facts, but only such as are sufficient to inform its convening authority whether cause for action by court-martial lies against the officer under investigation. We have here, then, the first error of the court.

This error would not have been committed if the court, remembering its extraordinary nature, had gone about this portion of its work after the style and manner of a court-martial. In that event the evidence would have been weighed pro and con; the pertinent facts established in Rear Admiral Schley's favor would have been placed against those adverse to him; and a balance would have been taken according to the principle of "the preponderance of proof." Such a balance would have shown clearly the cause of any opinion which the court, sitting in final judgment, might have agreed upon. In such circumstances, the judgment would, necessarily, have been final and conclusive upon all the points reviewed. But where the judgment shows so plainly that the facts on one side only had been considered, it must be deemed contestable. Against it stands the entire array of facts established in Rear-Admiral Schley's favor.

The second error of the court was committed as innocently and naturally as the first. As the opinions required by the precept were agreed upon subsequently to the formulation of the statement of facts, they were, in the regular order of things, governed by that statement. Therefore, when the court came to record its positive judgment, it arrived at its conclusions through the false premise of considering only the facts adverse to "the applicant." The judgment is, in consequence, that of

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a court-martial, while the logic is that of a court of inquiry, which latter labors only for the purpose of showing reasonable cause for further action. As if the confusion were not sufficiently confounded by the failure of the court to differentiate between the complex phases of its nature, it is rendered more so by the individual opinion of its President.

In that opinion Admiral Dewey, who agreed to the finding of facts, specifically dissents from certain opinions expressed by Rear-Admirals Benham and Ramsay. Here is a most anomalous situation. The facts set forth by the court are all adverse to Rear-Admiral Schley. If they were the only facts established during the public investigation, the majority judgment is wholly justifiable under them. But Admiral Dewey, while acting in this connection according to the common service understanding of a court of inquiry, undoubtedly remembered, when, as a member of a pseudo-court-martial, he came to pass a final judgment, the facts established favorably to Rear-Admiral Schley. He weighed these facts, and decided according to the weight of the evidence. That the entire court did not follow his example constitutes the error which is responsible for a judgment whose component parts are perverted, and which does not harmonize with the testimony publicly taken.

The error is, therefore, one of fatal misconception, or, rather, confusion of duty. If the court had acted throughout its secret deliberations as a court-martial, which it was in reality, instead of acting in one instance as a court of inquiry and in the other as a body empowered with final jurisdiction, its judgment would never have been disputed. It was this confusion which prompted the bill of exceptions filed by Rear-Admiral Schley against the judgment. That bill was framed for the purpose of specifically calling the attention of the convening authority to the instances in which the court had failed, by reason of this confusion, to surround its work with those elements of finality which always go hand in hand with reason, logic, and the preponderance of proof. It is because this confusion clouded the work of the court that the cause which it was hoped it might finally adjudicate will remain open.

Under a final judgment properly arrived at, none interested would have raised any objections. Rear-Admiral Schley entrusted his interests to the court in the full knowledge of the force of the saying that "the warrior who makes no mistakes makes no war." But neither the present generation nor posterity will accept a judgment which decrees that an exceptionally successful warrior made only mistakes in an exceptionally successful war in which he played a most conspicuous part.

MERRILL A. TEAGUE.

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WRITERS IN THE FEBRUARY FORUM.

Representative Henry Sherman Boutell was born in Boston, Mass., in 1856. Was taken west by his parents in 1863. Graduated from Northwestern University in 1874 and from Harvard in 1876. In 1877 received the degree of A.M. from Harvard for post-graduate studies in International Law and Constitutional History. Was admitted to the Illinois bar, and to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1879. Has since practised in Chicago. Was elected a member of the 55th Congress as a Republican from the North Side District of Chicago, and was reëlected to the 56th and the 57th Congresses. His article in this number of The Forum is supplementary to that which appeared in the issue of October last.

Mr. John T. Buchanan, a Virginian by birth, moved west when young, and there attended college and law school. Became principal of one of the high schools of Kansas City, Mo., and held that position for many years. In 1897 was selected, with two others, to organize high schools for New York City, and was later put in charge of the DeWitt Clinton High School, in the latter city, which position he now holds.

Mr. Truman A. De Weese, born near Troy, O., in 1860, received his education in the Dayton High School, supplemented by special university courses in political economy and the sciences. On leaving school he immediately embarked in journalism. Was for a time on the staff of the "Indianapolis Journal," under Major Elijah Halford, afterward private secretary to President Harrison. In order to familiarize himself with public-school methods, became principal of schools in the southern suburb of Indianapolis. His connection with the daily press in Indiana and Illinois gave him wide familiarity with politics; and it was while conducting a daily paper at Aurora that his work in behalf of the "McKinley Movement" in the west secured for him the offer of an editorial position on the "Chicago Times-Herald," now the "Chicago Record-Herald," which he accepted and still retains.

Mr. Mark Boothby Dunnell was born at Buxton, Me., in 1864. Was educated at Pillsbury Academy, Owatonna, Minn., and at the University of Rochester, graduating in 1886. Was appointed the same year principal of the Faribault High School, Minn. Was admitted to the Minnesota bar in 1888. From 1889 to 1892 was Deputy Consul-General at Shanghai. Has frequently written on Chinese questions for the leading reviews.

Pres. Frank Pierrepont Graves was born in New York in 1869. Graduated from Columbia University. Is also Ph.D. of Boston University, Litt.D. of Heidelberg University, and LL.D. of Hanover College. Was for a time Instructor in Greek at the Drisler School, New York, and at Columbia University. Was afterward Professor of Classical Philology at Tufts College, Massachusetts. Became President of the University of Wyoming, and later of the University of Washington. Is the author of several books on subjects connected with classical study.

Prof. Kelly Miller was born of negro parents in Fairfield county, South Carolina, in 1863. Graduated from Howard University, 1886. For two years, 1887–1889, pursued post-graduate studies in mathematics and physics at Johns Hopkins Uni-

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versity. Taught mathematics in the Washington High School, and was appointed to the chair of mathematics at Howard University in 1890. Has written and lectured widely upon educational and sociological questions, and has made an exhaustive study of the educational problems of the negro race, upon which he is regarded as an authority. Is President of The Graduate Club, an organization of colored graduates of American colleges residing at the national capital, whose aim is the study of practical problems in social science.

MAJOR JOHN H. PARKER, Captain 28th Infantry, was born in Missouri 35 years ago. Graduated from West Point in 1892. Was admitted to the bar in the State of Missouri in 1896, and served with credit at various frontier forts before the War with Spain. Went with General Shafter's expedition to Cuba in command of machine guns. The employment he made of the latter was original, and is said by Ridpath to have been the decisive factor at the critical time of the engagement of July 1, 1898. Has been recommended by General Shafter for the Congressional Medal of Honor for "distinguished conduct" in that battle; and Pres. Roosevelt says, in his History of the Rough Riders, "Indeed I think that Parker deserves rather more credit, on the whole, than any other officer in the whole campaign." Was appointed Major of Volunteers in August, 1899. Went to the Philippines the same year, and has but lately returned. While in the Islands he organized civil government in seven, and administered it in six, municipios. Was also Assistant to the Chief Judge Advocate of the Philippines.

REV. GILBERT REID, D.D., was born on Long Island in 1857. Graduated in 1879 from Hamilton College, and in 1882 from Union Theological Seminary. Commenced missionary work in China the same year in connection with the Presbyterian Church. In 1894 withdrew from the Presbyterian Board, and undertook a new mission among the higher classes, from which has grown the International Institute of China. During the China-Japan war acted as correspondent for the London "Times," and during the recent war as correspondent for the London "Morning Post." For ten months was interpreter to the British forces, most of the time in administration of Peking. Dr. Reid is author of "Glances at China," "Reunion of Christendom," and other works.

MR. WILLIAM BEMENT STREETER was born in 1857 near Quincy, Mich. Attended district school and Coldwater, Mich., High School. Graduated from the University of Michigan in 1882. From 1882 to 1887 was principal of Lapeer, Mich., High School. From 1887 to 1891 held the office of State Agent of Michigan State Public School for Dependent, Neglected, and Ill-treated Children. Has been State Agent of the Board of State Charities of Indiana since 1897.

MR. MERRILL A. TEAGUE was born in Indiana in 1872. Studied law, and qualified for admission to the bar when too young to be admitted to practice. At the age of eighteen entered newspaper work at Pendleton, Ind. In 1896 removed to Baltimore. In 1897 was elected Chief Clerk of the Second Branch of the City Council of Baltimore. In 1898 was made political editor of "The Baltimore American," which position he now occupies. In July, 1901, reviewed Mr. Edgar S. Maclay's "History of Our Navy" in an article which directed public attention to the charges made therein against Admiral Schley, and which resulted in reviving the controversy. When the Court of Inquiry was appointed he was selected to assist Admiral Schley's counsel in preparing for the trial. Upon the death of ex-Judge J. M. Wilson was chosen by Hon. Isidor Rayner, who succeeded to the position of Admiral Schley's chief counsel, as his assistant, and since that time has figured prominently in the management of the case on behalf of Admiral Schley.

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